# RELIGION AND SOCIETY IN SOUTHERN KARNATAKA IN THE EARLY MEDIEVAL PERIOD

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*By*

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TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

This is to certify that the thesis entitled "Religion and Society in Southern Karnataka in the Early Medieval Period" submitted by Ms. U. Malini Bhat, for the award of the Degree of Doctor of philosophy has not been previously submitted to this university or any other university for any degree, and this is her own work.

We recommend the thesis to be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

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## CONTENTS

# PREFACE

The present study is an attempt to reconstruct the picture of society in the region of Southern Karnataka from the fifth to the early eleventh centuries, delineating its political, structural and religious dimensions. I have tried to underline the significant role of the brahmanas in the stabilization of a state structure in this region and in coping with its growing complexities. The question is necessarily linked with the hierarchization of society and it is interesting that even the Jainas in this region show deep influence of the varna ideology.

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New Delhi,
Dated 28 · 11 · 95

U. Malini Bhat
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ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|---|---|
| Ag. | Arkalgūḍ |
| Ak. | Arsīkere |
| Al. | Ālūr |
| An. | Ānekal |
| ASMAR | Archaeological Survey of Mysore-Annual Report |
| Bg. | Bāgepaḷḷi |
| Bl. | Bēlūr |
| Bn. | Bangalore |
| Bp. | Bowringpet |
| Ch. | C̣hāmrājanagar |
| Ct. | Chintāmaṇi |
| Cm. | Chikmagaḷūr |
| Cn. | Channarāyapaṭna |
| Cp. | Channapaṭna |
| CB | Chikka Baḷḷāpura |
| DB | Doḍḍa Baḷḷāpura |
| Dv | Dēvanahaḷḷi |
| EC | Epigraphia Carnatica |
| EI | Epigraphia Indica |
| Gd. | Gauribidanūr |
| Gu. | Guṇḍlupēṭ |
| Hg. | Heggaḍedēvanakōṭe |
| Hn | Hāssan |
| HN | Hoḷe Narsipur |
| Hs. | Hosakōṭe |

| | |
|---|---|
| I.H.R. | Indian Historical Review |
| IESHR | Indian Economic and Social History Review |
| JBBRAS | Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society |
| JESHO | Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient |
| JRAS | Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society |
| Kd | Kaḍūr |
| KK | Kanakanahaḷḷi |
| Kl | Kōlār |
| Kn | Krishnarājanagara |
| Ko | Koḷḷegāl |
| Kr. | Krishnarājapēṭe |
| Ma | Māgadi |
| Mb | Mūḷbāgāl |
| Md | Maṇḍya |
| Mi | Madhugiri |
| Mj | Manjarābād |
| Ml | Maḷavalli |
| Mr | Mālūr |
| Mu | Maddūr |
| My | Mysore |
| Nj | Nanjanagūḍ |
| Ng | Nāgamangaḷa |
| Nl | Nelamangaḷa |
| Pg | Pāvagaḍa |
| Pp | Piriyapaṭna |

| | |
|---|---|
| Ppu | Pāṇḍavapura |
| Sa | Sāgar |
| Sb. | Sorāb |
| Sd. | Sidlaghaṭṭa |
| Si | Sira |
| Sh. | Shimoga |
| Sk. | Shikārpur |
| Sp. | Srinivāspur |
| Sr. | Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇa |
| Tm. | Tumkūr |
| TN. | T. Narsipūr |
| Tp | Tiptūr |
| Yl. | Yelandūr |

# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

Southern Karnataka emerges from the mists of prehistory only in the fourth century when the Gangas established a small principality in the neighourhood of Kōlār. This occurred probably as a result of the stimulus from Northern Karnāṭaka which had been part of the Sātavāhana principality. From at least the second century A.D., Banavāsi in the North Kanara district was the capital of a branch of the Sātavāhanas - the Cuṭukulānanda Śātakarṇis. Around the same time as the establishment of the Ganga Kingdom by Konguṇivarma of the Jāhnavēya Kula, the Kadambas supplanted the Cuṭukulānanda Śātakarṇis to establish their own kingdom with its capital at Banavāsi. But whereas the Kadambas were overthrown by the Cāḷukyas of Vātāpi towards the close of the sixth century, the Gangas continued to hold sway over most of the upper Kāvēri valley until the early eleventh century except for a brief period when the Rāṣṭrakūṭas established a viceroyalty in this region ofter overthrowing Śivamāra II in the early ninth century.

It is hardly surprising, then, that the area over which the Gangas held sway came to have a distinct identity of its own. As early as the first quarter of the eighth century, it was known as the Ninetysix Thousand country *1 and was designated Gangavāḍi or Ganga Maṇḍala by the ninth century *2. That the regional identity was intimately linked to the longstanding Ganga overlordship is indicated by the fact that even when their dynastic rivals, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas *3 and Cōḷas *4 conquered this region it was still known as Ganga Maṇḍala. The Cōḷas in fact tried to break this association by renaming the region as Muḍigoṇḍaśōḷamaṇḍalam.

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*1. EC VII (new ed) Md 35, Ng 149.

*2. EC XII (old ed) Mi 99.

*3. EI IV, No.49 pp 338-49.

*4. EC VI (new ed) Sr 78

Gangavādi like Banavāsi 12,000 appears to have been distinct from Karnāta dēśa. Pampa distinguishes between Karnāta and Vanavāsi (Banavāsi) viṣayas in his Ādi Purāṇam *5. Karnāṭa dēśa appears to have signified the Northern parts of modern Karnāṭaka particularly the units of Beḷvōḷa - 300 and Purigeṛe - 300. The Kannada spoken in these units is described as pure (tiruḷu) in both Pampa's Vikramārjunavijayam *6 and Ranna's Sāhasabhīmavijayam *7. Both authors preferred it in their works to that spoken in Banavāsi or Gangavāḍi. This was despite the fact that Pampa appears greatly attached to the Banavāsi - 12,000 region*8 while Ranna received his education and began his career as poet and soldier in Gangavāḍi *9. Nevertheless, the heartland of Kannaḍa appears to have been the Bijapur - Dharwad area, and not the southern parts of modern Karnāṭaka.

An attempt has been made in the present study to examine the emergence of the state in this region of Gangavāḍi. For purposes of comparison the Banavāsi region which had a longer history of state formation and which was more exposed to Northern stimuli has also been taken up for study.

The second Chapter on the Settlement Geography examines the physical features of the region and then goes on to examine the nature of the larger politico-geographic units - the viṣayas or nāḍus. Were these units circumscribed by natural features? Were they basically ethnic peasant units or administrative units? The significance of numerical suffixes and the existence of nāḍu level corporate groups and

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*5 Pampa's Ādipurāṇam VIII, 65 vacana

*6 Pampa's Vikramārjunavijayam XIV. 58

*7 Ranna's Sāhasabhīmavijayam 1.42.

*8 Pampa's Vikramārjunavijayam, IV.29-30.

*9 K Venkaṭarāyāchārya, "Rannana Caritrika Hinnele", in G.S.Shivarudrappa (ed) Samagra Kannaḍa Sāhitya Caritre. Vol II, pp 157. ff

chieftaincies have also been examined. Thereafter the village has been taken up as a discrete unit in section C.The nature of village boundaries, field and street layout in the village, types of soils and irrigation sources have been dealt with in detail.

The crops grown in this period have also been studied. The nature of hamlets (paḷḷis) has been examined to determine whether they were basically tribal settlements affiliated to larger villages inhabited by upper castes or were offshoots of larger settlements as irrigation works led to the expansion in the area of settlements. Our sources indicate that cattle and sheep rearing was an important source of livelihood in this period. Evidence for the existence of pastoralism and mixed farming is taken up in section D. Finally the nature of urbanism and emergence of urban centres is examined in section E.

In the third chapter titled Political Scenario, section A studies the various theories of the origin of the Gangas and examines the pre- and protohistoric record of Southern Karnataka to elucidate the problem. Sections B and C examine the political developments of the period under study. Two phases have been distinguished for this purpose. Phase I, includes the period between c. AD 400 and AD 725 when the Gangas established their overlordship over this region and the second phase takes up the period from AD 725 to AD 1030 when the Cōḷas were fairly entrenched in this region. The predominance of Sanskrit copper plate records reflecting a brahmanical socio-political order in the first phase as opposed to the predominance of lithic vernacular records reflecting a regional variant of the earlier order is the justification for this periodization. After examining the political history chapter IV studies the composition of the subordinate class of feudatories. As we shall see in the second phase the feudatories came to include groups of varied origins. Some belonged to recognized lineages while others merely used the title of arasa without mentioning their origin. Village headmen, the gavundas and officials like Pergades too came to be classified as feudatories (sāmantas) in the second phase. This is in contrast to the first phase when brāhmaṇas and a few sāmantas with the title of arasa were the only subordinates to whom we have reference in inscriptions. Chapter V first examines the

current debates on the nature of the early medieval state in India and then studies the evidence from our region in section B. The existence or otherwise of a state bureacuracy, a tax collection machinery and a regular army has been studied. Finally, the nature of Cola hegemony over Southern Karnataka has been taken up.

The sixth chapter on Religious Beliefs and Practices takes up the developments in Jainism, Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism separately. In section B the impact of Vedic brāhmaṇism, which enjoyed maximum state patronage in the first phase, is studied. The various forms of response of śrōtrīya brāhmaṇas to declining state patronage to them are also examined. Section A takes up developments in Jainism. The patterns of patronage, the evolving Jaina pantheon, the structure of the Jaina temple and their rituals and the changes in the Jaina monastic order are studied in detail. Section C examines the developments in Śaivism. Section D takes up the causes of the low popularity of Vaiṣṇavism in early medieval Southern Karnataka and the various forms in which the deity was worshipped. Section E examines the cults of the mother goddesses which enjoyed tremendous popularity in this period. Section F takes up the cults of the deified dead, the earliest forms of which can be traced back to the Śangam period. The worship of memorial stones and the construction of samādhi shrines for dead heroes are studied. In Section G the role of the devadasis in the temple ritual is examined.

The sources for this study are primarily inscriptional. Some use has also been made of archaeological reports on excavations and temples. This study also draws on the tenth century Kannada works, the Vaḍḍārādhane, Pampa's Vikramārjunavijayam and Ādi Purāṇam, Ponna's Śānti Purāṇam. Ranna's Sāhasabhīmavijayam and Ajita Purāṇam and Cāvuṇḍarāya's Triṣaṣṭhilakṣaṇa Mahāpurāṇam. These works have been used to corroborate inscriptions and to explicate the ethos of the period.

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# CHAPTER II

# HISTORICAL AND SETTLEMENT GEOGRAPHY OF SOUTHERN KARNATAKA

## A) PHYSICAL AND ECONOMIC GEOGRAPHY OF SOUTHERN KARNATAKA

Three geographic regions may be distinguished in the area under study:

1. The Malnāḍ (Hill country)
2. The semi-Malnāḍ (an intermediate zone)
3. The Southern Maidān (The plains)

(I) THE MALNAD:- This is the mainly forested, hilly country lying to the East of the Ghats' edge and west of the boundary marked by the sharp change from a gently rolling open plateau to more, hilly, tree-clad country. The width of the Malnāḍ varies greatly since both the deeply dissected Ghats' edge and the eastern margin have many curves and flexures. The normal range is between 48 and 60 km, but it is only 5 km at Sakleshpura where the headwaters of the Netrāvatī have cut the ghats' edge back and are about to capture the waters of Hēmāvatī.

The Malnāḍ south of the Bīrūr-Bhaṭkal line is higher than in the north, being predominantly upraised above the main plateau level. The hills in the Southern Malnāḍ reach 900-1200 m in considerable areas as compared to average heights of 600-900 m in the Northern Malnāḍ. In the south, erosion by west-flowing rivers into the higher country has been sharper and deeper than in the north producing spectacular gorges and ridges west of Mercara (Coorg district). Even the east-flowing rivers, e.g.the Kāvērī flow in rather narrow valleys and cut into steepsided often conical hills.

The Malnāḍ is characteristically a region of high rainfall, with a peak in July under south-west monsoon conditions. There is a contrast, however, between the western parts which commonly receive more that 250 cm and the eastern parts, the leeward side, which in certain areas receive below 100 cm between May and October. As a result, the traditional

Malnad rice and spice economy is seldom subjected to crop failure in the west but commonly in the east.

The mean monthly temperature varies between 20 C and 25 C all the year round being slightly cooler than the coastal region owing to altitude.

The Malnāḍ particularly on the lower slopes of the Western Ghats is thickly forested. Here, in the wet, evergreen zone, tall hardwoods predominate. The Middle Zone of the Malnāḍ contains teak, rose-wood and laurelwood. On the eastern margins are the intermittent remnants of the zone of frequent occurrence of sandalwood, an area of tropical,moist, deciduous forests. Bamboo clumps are common on margins of streams. Some of the bamboo cover may be a legacy of shifting cultivation practices.

The Malnāḍ economy is hinged on small one-crop,rain-fed terraced paddy fields. Reliable rainfall ensures adequate returns save on the Eastern Margins in years of inadequate or irregular precipitation. In many parts of the Malnāḍ area betel leaves, pepper and cardamom are also grown in addition to the subsistence crop. The forests serve both as a source of leaf-manure and as pasturage for cattle, particularly buffaloes which are found in large numbers.

(II) THE SEMI-MALNĀḌ:- This runs north to south along the entire length of Karnāṭaka State immediately to the east of the Malnāḍ proper. In terms of configuration, the semi-Malnāḍ is the Maidān for undulating high plains predominate. But the proportion of woodland and many features of climate and agricultural economy offer conditions intermediate between the true Malnāḍ and the true Maidān. The width of the semi-Malnāḍ varies between 30 and 60 km and approaches the latter limit in the area south of Mysore city.

Typically the semi-Malnāḍ is a rolling plateau, a little more dissected than the Maidān. The more dissected relief permits tank irrigation.

The southern portions of the semi-Malnāḍ are, on the average higher, in the range of 800-900 m than the northern portions which stand at an average height of 600m.

Around Chikmagalur the semi-Malnāḍ reaches a height of over 1000 m. The landscape includes deciduous forests but there are areas of almost continuous occupation by tank country as in the Yagachi basin between Bēlūr and Chikmagaḷūr (several settlements in this area date to the 9th century AD). Such tank country resembles that of the main part of the southern Maidān, but has an appearance of more luxurious growth and the hill slopes are tree-clad in contrast to the bare granite or tumbled boulders common in most parts of the southern Maidān.

The semi-Malnāḍ has red soils for the most part. In the western parts of Mysore district a distinctive belt of brown clay soils exist. Under moderate conditions of rainfall and in areas newly leared of forest cover these have considerable depth. On the drier margin and given flat ground, a soil similar to the black cotton soil of the Northern Maidān develops from these brown clay soils.

The semi-Malnāḍ enjoys a rainfall ranging between 50 and 90 cm between May and October, with peaks in May (significant in the extreme south, under the influence of pre-southwest monsoon conditions), in July (under the influence of the south-west monsoons) and in October (under retreating south-west monsoon conditions).

The broad pattern of seasonal temperature rythm is similar to that of the coastal region and the Malnāḍ ranging between 20 C and the 30 C.

Rice is the most important crop of the semi-Malnāḍ but rāgi and jōḷa are also grown to a considerable extent. Spices are also grown. Pulses and oilseeds are other important crops. The southern part of the semi-Malnad shows affinity with the kār-rāgi-oil seeds-pulses area of the south-western maidān, south of Mysore.

Hāssan district in particular, and the semi-Malnāḍ in general, is marked by high densities of cattle population. In this respect too, it is a continuation of the southern Maidān.

( III ) THE SOUTHERN MAIDĀN:- The configuration of the southern Maidān is of a rolling plateau relieved by boulder-crowned granite hills. It is framed by high ground in

the shape of the letter H. The western leg of this letter is the eastern edge of the Malnad, at the height of 900-1000 m. The eastern leg is the line of charnockite or granite hills from the Bilirangan Hills south of Kollegāl measuring upto 1700 m, northwards through Rāmanagaram to Madhugiri and Pāvagaḍa (1000-1200 m), which merge in the northwest with the ore-bearing hills of the Dharwar series. The crossbar of the letter H is the clearly identifiable belt of high ground at 900 m between Rāmanagaram and Hoḷe Narsipur. The southern part of the letter H encloses the main part of the Kāvēri basin though the crossbar does not form the watershed between the Tungabhadhra and the Kāvēri. The Northern bay of the letter H contains much plateau surface at the heights of 600-700 m which drains partly to the south to the Kaveri and partly to the north to the Vedavati-Tungabhadhra. This low ground is broken by important sets of minerals bearing ridges, mainly in the Dharwar series but composed of granite in places. One series of interrupted ridges run from Chiknāyakanakaḷḷi (Tumkur district) to near Dāvaṇgere (Chitradurga district) to the Ḍambal Hills in the Northern Maidān. Another set of ridges runs from near Krishnarājapēṭe (Maṇḍya district) to sweep Northwestwards out of the southern maidan at Honnāli (Shimoga district). East of the letter H, the 900 m plateau surface is seen in the highest parts of Bangalore. It is continued in the north in the raised rim formed by 2 systems of north-south gneissic hills. The first runs from Guḍibanda to near Chikbaḷḷāpura (Kolar district) and the second runs due south with interruptions from east of Bāgepaḷḷi almost to the State boundary in Bangārpēṭ taluk (Kolar district), forming important masses of boulder-strewn hills west of Chintāmaṇi, of Kōlār town, and of Bangārpēṭ. North of Nandi, there is a sharp break of slope to the middle Penner basin. To the east and south of the maidān, the plateau surfaces are being actively and sharply dissected by tributaries of the main rivers at low levels in the plains of Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu - the Pālār and the Ponnaiyār.

The southern Maidān is a region of cool and equable temperatures ranging from 10 C - 20 C in winter and 20 C and 30 C in summer. The rainfall is sparse and variable ranging between 50 cm and 90 cm with a main peak in October and a subsidiary peak in May. The early May peak is of importance to agriculture since an early "Kār" crop of rāgi and jowar is sown with the early rains. In the eastern parts of the southern Maidān however, the main crop is grown in July and the May peak is insignificant. There the October peak under retreating south-west monsoon conditions is the principal peak. The

western fringes of the southern Maidan have a rainfall regime similar to the semi-Malnāḍ with peaks in May and July, the latter being more important. It enjoys reliable rainfall and has a high proportion of irrigated land depending on minor tanks, which even out minor fluctuations in rainfall.

The broad vegetation zones covering the southern Maidān are tropical thorns over the central and eastern parts and tropical dry deciduous forests in the southern and western parts. The distribution of forests of all types shows a strong concentration on ridges and residual hills above the main plateau surfaces. Shrubs exist mainly on the broad flat plateau tops and are used as rough pastures. East of the ridges between Kanakapura and Tumkūr and further east from Bāgepaḷḷi to Bangārpet these shrubs cover over half the total area.

The southern Maidān has predominantly red soils which vary greatly in texture and mineral content. The soils vary according to topography, with poor gravelly soils in the area of residual hills and the boulders in the east; immature forest soils, coarse, but with some humus in the better clad hills of the west. The scrubby plateau tops have generally coarse, sandy or gravelly soils overgrazed, eroded and poor in humus. These are generally black and fertile on first clearance but lose fertility very rapidly. Mixed red and black soils occur in the north-central areas and in the southern parts of this region. Their distribution coincides with flat areas within or near the margins of the drier rainfall regions.

The proportion of uncultivated to sown lands is very high commonly 50% but going upto 90% in Pāvagaḍa, Gubbi (Tumkur district) and Koḷḷegāl (Mysore district). Pasture lands account for about half the uncultivated lands. Dry fields account for the greater part of cultivated lands and are used largely for growing rāgi over most of the region usually intersown with a line of mixed fodder jowar along with pulses. Wet lands are used for the main crop, paddy, or for sugarcane. Tank-fed or well irrigated gardens yield coconut, areca, betelvines, pepper,etc.

Given the high proportion of pasture lands, live stock densities are strikingly high in the southern Maidān. They are concentrated in the areas adjacent to the semi-Malnad and in the south-central and eastern parts. It is perhaps related to the greater demand for

plough teams on the red soil. Greater availability of pasturage and a long tradition of stock-breeding are other factors accounting for high stock densities. Sheep and goats account for a large part of the livestock of southern Maidān, particularly in the southern parts. In places, they outnumber cattle in stock units.

## B) POLITICO-GEOGRAPHICAL UNITS

The epigraphic record for our region mentions numerous politico-geographical units. These references have been enumerated chronologically in Appendix I.

The seminal work of Subbarayalu on the nāḍus in the Cōḷa dominions*1 have raised several issues for discussion:

(i) The location of a nāḍu vis-a-vis water courses.

(ii) Relationship between the area of a unit and the existence of reliable sources of irrigation.

(iii) Does the first reference to a new unit imply its recent creation ?

(iv) The nature of a nāḍu - whether a peasant agrarian unit or an administrative unit ?

In addition to these, our sources raise a further issue. A glance at Appendix I clearly reveals a change in the nomenclature of macro-units of territorial organization in the eighth century. While the inscriptions of the earlier period refer to these units as rāṣṭra, viṣaya and dēśa, those of a later period use the term nāḍu with a numerical suffix in the majority of cases. This change is all the more striking in the case of such units as Pumrāṣṭra*2 which came to be designated as Punnāḍu-6000*3 or the Sindhuthaya rāṣṭra*4

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*1 Y.Subbarayalu, The Political Geography of the Cōḷa country, pub. by Tamil Nadu State Department of Archaeology, Madras, 1973. *2 EC IV (new ed) Yl 167.

*3 EC III (new ed) Nj 129; EC IV (new ed) Ch 115. *4 EC VI (old ed) Kd 162

which is replaced by references to Sinda nāḍu-8000,*5 or Marugaṟe rāṣṭra*6 which came to be known as Marugaṟe nāḍu-300.*7 The significance of numerical suffixes and the causes of this change in nomenclature will also be studied.

Identification and mapping of the nāḍus in Cōlamaṇḍalam and in Naḍuvilnāḍu led Subbarayalu to the conclusion that nāḍus did not have natural boundaries in the majority of cases. Only the major perennial rivers-the Kāvēri and the Penner formed boundaries to the nāḍus abutting them. All other minor rivers and distributaries had nāḍus lying on both banks.*8

The area of the nāḍus varied from twenty five square kilometres to 768 square kilometres. In most cases the bigger nāḍus are found in relatively less fertile territory and on the fringe of inhabited space in both Cōḷamaṇḍalam and Naḍuvilnāḍu. Fertility and irrigation conditions also determined the number of villages it contained. The deltaic nāḍus thus had a larger number of villages than those higher up the Kāvēri river.*9

In the area under study identification and location of nāḍus is more difficult than in the Kāvēri delta since few settlements are referred to in the inscriptions and of these many are unidentifiable. Wherever evidence permits, however, it would seem that the basic characteristics of nāḍus in southern Karnataka were similar to those in the Cōḷa dominions.

The boundaries of Pumrāṣṭra in the sixth century AD seem ill-defined. The Māmbaḷḷi copper plates describe it as being "adorned by the Kāvēri and Kapinī rivers, with forests lining the banks of the two rivers which included plantain, areca-nut, coconut and panasa trees, and sugar cane and betel vines". *10 From this it would appear that this unit

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*5 ASMAR 1920, p.24.

*6 K.V.Ramesh, Inscriptions of the Western Gangas, pub.by ICHR, New Delhi, 1984, No.16.

*7 Ibid, No.61

*8 Y.Subbarayalu, op.cit.,p.22.

*9 Ibid, pp 21-22

*10 EC IV (new ed) Yl 167.

lay athwart both the Kāvēri and Kapini rivers. Pumrāṣṭra continued to exist albeit with a new name Punnāḍu-6000 in the eighth, ninth and tenth centuries. However ninth century records indicate that a sub-unit, Eḍenāḍu had come into existence.*11 This seems to have included settlements on the right bank of the Kabbani river in the Nanjanagūḍu and Chāmrājnagar taluks. Similarly Eḍettoṟe nāḍ-1000 seems to have been located on the left bank of the Kabbani although we have hardly any references to settlements included in this unit. This conclusion has been reached on the basis of the provenance of inscriptions referring to this unit*12. A smaller unit which was also possibly located on the left bank of the Kabbāni in the tenth century, is Adirāṟu-12 centred around Adirāṟu (modern Hadināru, Nanjanagūḍ taluk, Mysore district)*13

The Kāvēri forms the southern boundary of the Baḍagare nāḍu 300 unit to which we have references from the eighth century onwards. This unit included settlements to the north of the Kāvēri in the Tirumakūḍal Narsipur and Malavaḷḷi taluks.*14 Early in the eleventh century we have references to Iḍai nāḍu which had the Kāvēri river as its boundary to the north and encompassed the south-eastern parts of Tirumakūḍal Narsipur taluk.*15

On the other hand, in the Yagachi valley settlements in the Devaḷige-70 unit were located on both banks of the river and its tributary streams.*16 Similarly in Āsandi nāḍ the river Vēdavatī did not mark a boundary since Arakeṟe and Kalikaṭṭi were situated to the west of the river while Āsandi itself was located on the east bank.*17

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*11 EC III (new ed) Nj 278; EC I (new ed), No.1; EC III (new ed) Nj 239, 294; EC IV (new ed) Ch 114.

*12 EC V (new ed) My 183, EC III (new ed) Nj 193,192,201

*13 EC III (new ed) Nj 197.

*14 EC V (new ed) TN 120; EC VII (new ed) Ml 120.

*15 EC V (new ed) TN 230,227,233,229

*16 EC VI (old ed) Cm 42, Appendix I, No.51

*17 EC XV (rev.ed) Ak 215

Burton Stein suggests that the reason why only major perennial riversconstituted boundaries for nāḍus and not the lesser streams or rivers was that only the flow of the former was reliable enough to preclude joint management of irrigation. In other words inter-village co-operation was necessary for the proper husbanding of water resources in the case of seasonal rivers and streams. This was not so for perennial rivers. In his opinion this feature emphasizes the agrarian character of the nāḍu.*18

While available evidence from early medieval southern Karnataka appears to support Subbarayalu's conclusions about the nāḍu's relation to natural features such as rivers, his other suggestion with respect to the area and density of the nāḍu varying in proportion to the availability of sources of irrigation cannot be tested owing to inadequate evidence. In some cases, such as Ẹḍenāḍu-70 settlements to which we have references do seem closely clustered*19. Even here, however, it is not possible to trace the boundaries of the nāḍu save the northern one which was formed by the Kabbāni river. In most cases, we have references to only one or two settlements included in a nāḍu which makes it impossible to estimate the area and density of settlement.

Subbarayalu has assumed in his study that the first reference to a nāḍu may be taken as an approximate date of its creation. He has, however, admitted the possibility of bias introduced by the vagaries in the availability of epigraphic evidence. He suggests that the smaller number of records available for the period prior to AD 1000 may account partly, for the small number of units known to us for that period in Cōḷamaṇḍalam, while for AD 1000-1014 alone, thirty-six new units are referred to principally in the Thanjavūr inscription of Rājarāja I which has detailed geographical information. On the other hand, he accounts for the slow rate of growth of new units for AD 1050-1300 in Cōḷamaṇḍalam by suggesting that population density had reached saturation point for the conditions then existing. For the same period, we have evidence of new units coming up in less fertile regions.*20

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*18 Burton Stein, Peasant state and soceity in Medieval south India, Delhi 1980, p 93.

*19 Infra, fn 21

*20 Y.Subbarayalu, op.cit.,p.21.

Stein thinks Subbarayalu's view as doubtful. The tempo of agrarian expansion suggested by Subbarayalu is unacceptable to him in the absence of evidence for sustained population growth, immigration or of adoption of new technology. Stein, therefore, suggests that the majority of units, referred to in the Cōḷa records were in existence during the period of Rājarāja I. New references, in his opinion, indicate not a new creation but a new recognition of Cōḷa overlordship.*21 In our opinion, however, it seems implausible that any unit within Cōḷamaṇḍalam the heartland of the Cōḷa empire should have remained independent of Cōḷa overlordship, particularly in the period of Rājarāja I and Rājēndra I when Cōḷa military might was its peak.

In southern Karnāṭaka we have references to few units prior to the eighth century. After that we have references to an increasing number of territorial units. This is partly due to the availability of inscriptions. The majority of the lithic inscriptions which contain copious geographical information are easier to locate and date from the eighth century onwards. Prior to that, we have for the most part only copper plate records in which geographical information is sparse and far more difficult to locate. A certain degree of continuity is discernible in the post eighth century period. Many of the units such as Pumrāṣṭra*22, Sinda viṣaya*23, Marugaṟe viṣaya*24 and Kuvalāla viṣaya*25 continued to exist though with the nāḍu suffix. The change consists in these cases mainly in the references to sub-units such as Eḍenāḍu-70 *26 in Punnāḍu-6000, Tagare-70*27 and Maṇale-āḷke-300*28 in Sinda nāḍu- 8000, Eḍediṇḍe-70*29 in Marugaṟe nāḍu-300 and Agaḷi-12 *30 in Kuvaḷāla nāḍu-300.

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*21 B.Stein, op.cit.,p 98.

*22 EC IV (new ed) Yl 167; EC III (new ed) Nj 129,278,etc.

*23 EC VI (old ed) Kd 162; Mg 36; ASMAR 1920, p 24.

*24 ASMAR 1916,p 34-35; EC V (new ed) Kn 49, etc.

*25 K.V.Ramesh,op.cit.,No.157; EC X (old ed) Mb 255,80,Sp 57 etc.

*26 EC III (new ed) Nj 278; EC I (new ed) No.1

*27 ASMAR 1920, p 24.

*28 EC VI (old ed) Mg 36.

*29 EC V (new ed)Kn 49.

*30 ASMAR 1926,p 87-88,No.100

We also have new units mentioned in the post-eighth century records. This is the case with Baḍagare nāḍu-300*31, Eḍettoṛe-nāḍ-1000*32, Aridāḷke-70*33 Karegāḍu-70*34 and Āsandi nāḍ*35 which are mentioned for the first time in eighth century records; Kongalnāḍu-8000,*36 Beddoṛegare*37, Sīgenāḍu,*38 Māmguḍi nāḍu*39 Toṛenāḍ*40, Erenāḍ*41 Nugu nāḍ*42 and Bayal nāḍ*43 which are first referred to in ninth century epigraphs; and Kōṭu nāḍ*44,Adirāṟu-12*45, Kuppa nāḍ,*46 Kundūr nāḍ,*47, Kalkaḷi nāḍ*48 and Maṇḍali nāḍ*49 which seem to emerge in the tenth century.

With the available evidence it is not possible to gauge whether the emergence of new sub-units within older territorial divisions was owing to an administrative reorganisation or the emergence of new clusters of settlements in the larger, older units. The two are not mutually exclusive since the emergence of new settlements would necessitate reorganisation. This involves the question of the nature of a unit which shall be further discussed below.

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*31 EC V (new ed) TN 120,EC VII (new ed)Ml 122,50,etc.

*32 EC V (new ed) My 183;EC III (new ed) Nj 192,193,201.

*33 EC III (new ed) Mg 90 *34 EC III (new ed) Nj 147.

*35 EC VI (old ed) Kd 145,141.

*36 EC III (new ed) Nj 385, EC VI (new ed) Kr 20

*37 EC I (new ed) No.96, 98. *38 EC IV (new ed) Ch 385

*39 K.V.Ramesh,op.cit.,No.85

*40 EC III (new ed)Hg 46; EC IV (new ed)Pp 117.

*41 ASMAR 1922-23,No.4,p.40.

*42 EC III (new ed)Hg 5, 58.

*43 EC III (new ed) Hg 23, Gu 219, Hg 110, 142

*44 EC V (new ed) TN 57. *45 EC III (new ed) Nj 197

*46 EC IV (new ed) Pp 133 *47 ECVII (new ed) Md 67

*48 EC V (old ed) Cn 267,262.

*49 ASMAR 1935,No.33, p 110- 111; K.V.Ramesh, op.cit.,No.137; EC VII (old ed) Sh24.

Adopting the assumption made by Subbarayalu it would seem that the period from the eighth century onwards saw the steady expansion of agriculture and opening of new tracts to settlement. As we shall see later, new village settlements were continually emerging, particularly in the Kāvēri valley with its abundant water resources.*49(a) It is unclear to what extent this had occurred in the period prior to the eighth century owing to the paucity of epigraphic evidence. At all events although the vagaries of the source material might mislead us, Burton Stein's suggestion that new references to units indicate acceptance of the suzerainty of the dominant political power of the region is inadmissible for our region. Unlike the Cōḷa dominions, the political situation in southern Karnāṭaka was always fluid. Ganga control over Gangavāḍi 96,000 was overthrown at least once in the beginning of the ninth century and was frequently threatened thereafter by military expeditions of the powers of Northern Karnāṭaka*50. Similarly, although Banavāsi-12,000 was under the overlordship of the Kadambas,*51 the Cāḷukyas*52 and Rāṣṭrakūṭas*53 successively, the feudatory who ruled this unit changed fairly rapidly. In the reign of Gōvinda III for instance, the Māvali inscriptions reveal that at least three individuals ruled this nāḍu Madanāgarasar*54, Ereyammarasar*55 and Rājāditya Pallava Nōḷamba*56. We also have references to feudatories who ruled only a part of Banavāsi-12000. This is the case with Kaliviṭṭarasa who is stated to have ruled a part (bhāga) of Banavāsi-12,000 in an inscription from Cikka Cāvuṭi*57. Even when a claim is made for authority over the whole nāḍu, the sāmanta may have held only a part of the unit in actual fact. This is clear from two other inscriptions of the same year as the Cikka Cāvuṭi record. The Kakkarasi inscription states that Mahāsāmantādhipati Trikundapuravarēśvara Māciyarasa was ruling as king (arasu) over the 12,000 country from Eḍenāḍ.*58

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*49(a) Infra, Section C.(I) p32, fn 191 *50 Infra Chapter III, Section B.

*51 EC VII (old ed) Sk 264,29,176; EC VIII (old ed) Sb 523

*52 EC VII (old ed) Sk 10,154; EC VIII (old ed) Sa 79,Sb 15,571,411.

*53 ASMAR 1941, No.29,p 191-92; EC VIII (old ed) Sb 1,9,10 etc.

*54 EC VIII (old ed) Sb 1. *55 Ibid, Sb 9.

*56 Ibid, Sb 10, also Sb 22 from Manamane. *57 EC VIII (old ed) Sb 240 of AD 954

.*58 EC VIII (old ed) Sb 474 of AD 954.

Similarly the Beṭṭadakūrali inscription also from AD 954 refers to the rule of Javanaiśami over Bana(vā)si nāḍ.*59 As the Kirugunise inscription of AD 959 makes clear, Māciyarasa's rule extended only over Eḍenāḍ-70*60 although he had claimed to rule the whole of Banavāsi-12,000 in the earlier inscription. Similarly, the Jambehaḷḷi inscription of AD 972-73 refer to the rule of Śāntivarmarasar over the 12,000 country,*61 while the two Bennūr inscriptions of the same year mention Caṭṭayya as the ruler of the Kingdom of Banavāsi-12,000 under the overlordship of Kakkaladēva.*62 We also have references to territorial units without any mention made of the overlord. This is the case with an inscription from Sosale (T.Narsipur taluk, Mysore district) which merely mentions Vaḍakare nāḍu-300 and its ruler Vikramāditya-arasa.*63 This probably belongs to a period when the Rāṣṭrakūṭas were attempting to supplant the Gangas from Gangavāḍi. It seems therefore that the references to territorial units in inscriptions did not depend on their recognition of the dominant political power in the region at that period at least in so far as southern Karnāṭaka is concerned. We may follow Subbarayalu in his assumption that the date of the first reference to a new nāḍu is fairly close to that of its fresh emergence. It is however, necessary to recollect that the inscriptional record is far from complete and has numerous lacunae. The scope for error is therefore considerable.

In Kannada as in Tamil, the word nāḍu has the generic sense of "a cultivated, planted country"*64 in opposition to kāḍu; a forest. From this Subbarayalu concludes that a nāḍu was basically an agrarian region - a grouping of agricultural settlements whose formation was influenced by natural factors conducive to agriculture such as soils, topography, availability of moisture, etc.

Although in origin an agrarian unit, the nāḍu was also the basis for administration. Subbarayalu however argues against the view that they were artificial divisions created by

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*59 EC VIII (old ed) Sb 202.

*60 Ibid, Sb 501

*61 Ibid, Sb 44.

*62 Ibid, Sb 454, 457

*63 EC V (new ed) TN 120.

*64 F.Kittel, A Kannada-English Dictionary, q.v.Nāḍu; Y.Subbarayalu, op.cit.,p.32.

the ruler to facilitate administration. The lack of uniformity in the area of the unit as well as the fact that water courses did not form the boundary of units militates against such a possibility in his opinion.*65

Subbarayalu suggests also that "each nāḍu was basically a cohesive group of people tied together by marriage and blood relationships; the so called chief villages forming the core of each group in the beginning". This explains, in his opinion, many modern caste and communal subdivisions which are for the most part territorial in origin.*66

The nāḍu has also been taken to be a territorial assembly which functioned within the territorial unit of the same name. It was constituted perhaps by the representatives of each of the villages within the unit or by the more influential residents of the unit. In Tamil copper plate records the nāṭṭār figure as one of the groups to whom the royal communication was addressed. But it was they who received the royal communication and proclaimed the grant after fixing the boundaries of the granted land. In other words, their endorsement to the grant was essential. The other groups to whom the grant was addressed were the representatives of the brahmadēya, dēvadāna and the nagaram settlements. Hence it would seem that the nāṭṭār chiefly drawn from among the ūrār (or the assembly of the ūr) of the concerned nāḍu*67.

Stein drew on Subbarayalu's work to reach his own conclusions: "During almost the entire time of the great Cōḷas from around AD 1000 to 1200-the 550 nāḍus of the macro-region were the primary loci of agrarian society. While each of them constituted analmost self-sufficient ethno-agrarian micro-region, and while most pre-dated the establishment of the imperial Cōḷa state, all were linked together as parts of a great kingdom. What linked them was their common recognition of the Cōḷa king; the imitation by local chiefs of some of the royal styles of those kings especially their support of brahmanical institutions, brahmadēyas and temples devoted to the worship of vedic gods,

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*65 Ibid, p 30,33. *66 Ibid, p.36. *67 Ibid, p 36.

and by the occasional massing of military resources of a number of nādus for predatory or defensive warfare. Each nādu was segmental part of a single, unified conception of Hindu Kingship; each constituted a basic bloc of which the realm was composed".*68

On the basis of the differences among these nādus in terms of their internal organisation and links with other units, Stein distinguishes

(i) "Central" nādus, characterized by elaborate social heirarchy, wealthy and populous agricultural and mercantile settlements and proximity to royal authority. Even here, however, royal authority had only a ritual sovereignty over the nādus*69.

(ii) "Intermediate" nādus located for the most part in the interior upland which lacked reliable sources of moisture for agriculture, social hierarchy was not as elaborate here as in the central nādus owing to the lack of reliable income to support elaborate royal or religious institutions. They were also characterized by less durable linkages with neighbouring nādus as compared to "central" nādus owing to horizontal segmentation among sub castes and clans and sparse population. They were also more easily detachable from allegiance to the overlord owing to distance from the sphere of the overlord and proximity to alternate centres of power.*70

(iii) "Peripheral" nādus situated in those areas least hospitable to sedentary agriculture or even to mixed agricultural and pastoral activities. Such nādus lacked both vertical segmentation or heirarchy and horizontal segmentation and displayed strong "tribal" characteristics. Their external dynastic linkage was weak and they were mostly ruled by strong chiefs.*71

Both Subbarayalu and Stein thus seem to consider nādus as primarily agrarian rather than administrative units. For Stein the nādus were so basic to the social, economic and political order that royal authority is rendered more or less redundant. Nādu chiefs, notables and officials ordered the social and political universe of the early medieval period, acknowledging only the ritual sovereignty of the central dynasty.

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*68 B.Stein, op.cit.,p.133-134.

*69 Ibid, p.134.

*70 Ibid, p.136 *71 Ibid, p.138,140

The agrarian character of the territorial units in southern Karnāṭaka seems fairly clear in a number of cases. We have referred earlier to their relationship to natural features such as streams which in the opinion of both Stein and Subbarayalu emphasizes the agrarian.character of the nāḍu.*72 Many of the units are named after the earliest settlement in the cluster. Such for instance is the case with Kuvaḷāla viṣaya which was grouped around Kuvaḷāla*73 (modern Kōlār) the earliest power centre of the Gangas.*74 Similarly the Keregōḍu nāḍu viṣaya was probably constituted around the village of Keregōḍu, the reference point for neighbouring settlements.*75 Kaṟbappu nāḍ-1000 which is mentioned in an eighth century record from Maṇḍya district*76 was centred around Kaṟbappu- the small hill at Śravaṇabeḷgoḷa which had become a centre for adopting the sanyasana*77 vow among the Jainas by this time. Āsandi nāḍ was a unit of which Āsandi (Kaḍūr taluk, Chikmagaḷūr district) was the centre.*78 Stein has suggested that the earliest core settlement in a nāḍu did not enjoy pre-eminence over later settlements included therein*79 and this seems to be the case here for Āsandi nāḍ was ruled by Ēṟamma, the servant (āḷ) of Vijayāditya, the son of Śrīpuruṣa Ganga, from Cannavūr.

While the agrarian character of these territorial units is thus fairly clear, the political factors shaping them must not be ignored. The ruling lineage often gave its name to the territory. The earliest core of the Ganga kingdom in the Kōlār and Bangalore districts*80

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*72 Supra, pp 11-13

*73 K.V.Ramesh, op.cit.,No.157. *74 Infra, Chapter III, Sections A & B.

*75 EC VII (new ed) Md 35, EC XVI (rev.ed) Gb 75, vide Appendix I, Nos.69,70

*76 EC VII (new ed) Md 14, Appendix I.,No.95

*77 S.Settar Inviting Death ; Historical Experiments on Sepulcharal Hill, Dharwad,1986,p.

*78 EC VI (old ed) Kd 145, Appendix I, No.122-125.

*79 B.Stein, op.cit.,p.105.

*80 Infra, Chapter III, Sections A.& B.

came to be designated as Ganga-6000 in the eighth century.*81 When the Nōḷambas entrenched themselves there in the ninth and the tenth centuries the area came to be known as the Nōḷambavāḍi-32,000.*82 The Ganga kingdom as a whole was designated Gangavāḍi-96,000., or the 96,000 country.*83 In AD 976-77 when the Gangas were beleaguered by the Cāḷukyas and their territory probably diminished under Cāḷukyan pressure Gangavāḍi is assigned merely a suffix of 32,000.*84 Likewise the Keregalūr plates of the fifth century refer to Sēndraka viṣaya*85 as do the Tagare plates of the sixth century.*86 In both cases, the unit was possibly named after the Sēndraka lineage, although no Sēndraka chief is mentioned in either inscription. However a seventh century record from Baḷigāmi (Shikarpur taluk, Shimoga district) refers to Pogilli Sēndraka mahārāja who is said to be ruling Nāyarakhaṇḍa and Jeḷugūr-ālge.*87 It is possible that this lineage was displaced from its original principality in the Hāssan-Chikmagaḷūr districts by the Gangas and the Kadambas. At all events the Sēndraka viṣaya is not referred to after the seventh century.*88

We have seen earlier that even when Banavāsi-12,000 was divided among two or three feudatories at a time it retained its identity as a unit and is mentioned in the epigraphic record. In Kolar on the other hand, when political fragmentation reached its apogee in the ninth and tenth centuries, nāḍu units cease to be mentioned by and large, in the inscriptions. Evidently the domains of the local rulers which was the most significant point of reference for the local record-keepers, did not coincide with the nāḍu unit.*89 Under Cōḷa suzerainty, the old nāḍu units once again find mention. This would indicate that the nāḍus retained their corporate identity even during the period of political fragmentation.

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*81 eg.EC X (old ed) Mb 80; vide Appendix I, Nos.100-111

*82 EC X (old ed) Sp 59 of the 10th to 11th centuries; vide Appendix I Nos.,146-148.

*83 EC V (new ed) Kn 48 of the 8th century; EC X (old ed) Kl 79 of the 9th century.

*84 EC IV (new ed) Pp 133.

*85 EC VIII (new ed) Hn 10

*86 ASMAR 1918, p.35-36

*87 EC VII (old ed) Sk 154.

*88 Vide Appendix I Nos.47-49.

*89 Infra, Chapter IV, Section B.

We have referred earlier to the change in the nomenclature of territorial units. This coincides in large measure with the spurt in lithic, vernacular inscriptions. Thus nāḍu, the vernacular word, came to replace the sanskrit term viṣaya. The post-eighth century use of the term viṣaya occurs in copper plate inscriptions which continued to be in Sanskrit.*90 Moreover, the units came to be given numerical suffixes on a regular basis. This was not unknown even in the earlier period. Thus the Keregalūr plates of the fifth century assign the numerical suffix of 8000 to Vaḻḻāvi viṣaya.*91 What these numerical suffixes stood for has been a subject of controversy for a long time. Rice*92 had suggested that they stood for the revenue yield of a division, computed in cash terms.*93 However, this would imply the existence of a strong cash economy for which we have no evidence.*94 Another view holds that the suffixes represented the population or the number of fighting men of the division. However, this would make no sense in the case of the smaller suffixes of less than a hundred for which we have numerous references in inscriptions.*95

The most reasonable view is that it stands for the number of villages included in the division. For smaller units, we have epigraphic evidence to corroborate this view. The Bēgūr inscription of Eṟeyapparasa grants the division of Bēmpūr-12 to Iruga the son of Nāgattara, as Kalnāḍ.*96 The twelve villages in the division, inclusive of Bēmpūr are listed in the inscription.*97.

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*90 eg. the Sāligrāma copper plates of Rācamalla I of AD 819; EC V (new ed) Kn 49,l.109; Appendix I No.19

*91 EC VIII (new ed) Hn 10, Appendix I, No.48

*92 B.L.Rice, "Gaṅgavāḍi", in R.G.Bhandarkar commemoration volume, Poona 1917,pp 237-239.

*93 K.V.Ramesh, op.cit.,No.64, and EC I (new ed) No.97, indicate that taxes were computed partly in kind and parlty in cash.

*94 B.D.Chattopadhyaya, Coins and Currency systems of south India,New Delhi 1977.pp 44-48, 118-119, assigns extant Gaṅga coins to the post-tenth century period.

*95 Vide Appendix I, Nos.103,170 etc.

*96 EC IX (old ed) Bn 83.

*97 Appendix I No.169.

Similarly, the Bandaḷike inscription of A.D. 902 mentions Mahāsāmanta Lōkaṭeyarasa as governing 31,102 villages (bāḍa), comprising Banavāsi 12000, Palasige 12000, Mānyakhēḍa 6000, Kolanu 30, Lōkapura 12 and Toṟegare 60.*97(a)

In the case of larger suffixes there certainly appears to be an element of exaggeration. As D.C.Sircar points out, Gaṅgavāḍi could scarcely have contained more than a fraction of 96,000 villages in that period.*98 Another suggestion with respect to large suffixes is that nāḍus were ascribed the number 1000 and thus Gaṅgavāḍi comprised 96 nāḍus. This is not borne out by Gaṅga records. Several units such as Nirggunda nāḍu,*99 Baḍagare nāḍu,*100 Kuvaḷāla nāḍu,*101 etc., were assigned the suffix of 300, while others such as Eḍettoṟe nāḍ*102 had a suffix of a 1000, Sinda nāḍ*103 had 8000 and Punnāḍu had 6000.*104 Until further evidence is available, we can only assume that these numerical suffixes which stood for villages were highly exaggerated figures. Given that the dominions of feudatories were expressed in these terms, this is scarcely surprising. Inflated claims were particularly common as we have seen in the case of Banavāsi-12,000.*105

Stein has suggested another possible explanation for the smaller numerical suffixes to the place names, i.e.,that they refer to the peasant household units of the okkalu who originally conquered or colonized a locality.*106 They might then have continued to refer to themselves as a corporate unit by a conventional number based on that event. He cites Dikshit in this connection who had suggested that the numbers affixed to village assemblies denoted the number of families which had originally established the village and corporately preserved their ascendancy by the use of a numerical title.*107

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*97(a) S.Settar, ASMAR 1911 - A Study, Vol III, Dharwar (1976), pp. 145 - 146.

*98 D.C.Sircar, Indian Epigraphy, Delhi 1965, p.385.

*99 Vide Appendix I, Nos.71-73

*100 Ibid, Nos.81-85

*101 Ibid, No.23-28,

*102 Ibid, Nos.96-99.

*103 Ibid, No.54.

*104 Ibid, Nos.61,64.

*105 Supra, p 17.

*106 B.Stein, op.cit.,p.129.

*107 G.S.Dikshit, Local Self-government in Medieval Karnataka.,Dharwad 1964,p.75.

This might be a valid explanation for the numbers assigned to the corporate groups whether of a settlement or of a nādu.*108 But our inscriptions distinguish the numerical suffixes of a nādu from those of a corporate group.*109 Moreover, in at least one instance,that of Beddoregare in Coorg, we have references to no less than three corporate groups in the unit. Beddoregare itself has no numerical suffix. But if Stein's suggestion is valid, it would be unclear whether Beddoregare was to be assigned the suffix of 70 after the seventy (Ēlvadinvar) of Beddoregare, of Eight after the okkal (Eṇṭokkal) or 500 after the group of the Five Hundred (Maymūrvarum?). In addition the Biḷiyūr inscription which mentions the unit of Beddoregare also refers to the Male Sāsirvaru (Male one thousand) and the Five Ḍāmarigas,*110 while the Peggūr inscription refers to the Four Mālepas (Nālvar Māleparu).*111

We do not have much evidence for the nādu as a corporate body of the landholders of the nādu as in Tamil Nadu. Of the three epigraphic references from this region, two belong definitely to the period of Cōla overlordship over this region when doubtless many Cōla practices and institutions were introduced into Gangavāḍi.*112 The earliest reference comes from an undated fragmentary inscription palaeographically assignable to the tenth century from Tirumakūḍlu (T.Narsipur taluk, Mysore district). This epigraph apparently records a grant by the Nānādēśis whose praśasti is incorporated in the inscription, and the nādu. The details of the grant and of the donee are now lost.*113 Likewise, the Kemmasandra inscription of the reign of Rājarājadēva, dated AD 1001 records the grant of land (bhūmi) at Sattivangala to Cāvaṇḍayya by Daṇḍanāyaka Śrīdharayya, the Nālgāvuṇḍa Sinda gāvuṇḍa and the Nādu.*114 However, the inscription introduces an element of confusion by adding that Mārayya and Puṇiseyamma were the

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*108 EC IV (new ed) Yl 138, EC VII (old ed), Sk 47,177,etc.

*109 EC IV (new ed) Pp 117. ll 6-8. "Ippataydu mahājana dānakkoḍu Dibbigāram Ēḷpattaroḷ..."

*110 EC I (new ed) No.96.

*111 Ibid, No.98

*112 Infra, Chapter IV, section B.

*113 EC V (new ed) TN 25.

*114 EC IX (old ed) Ht 111.

donors. It is possible that the grant was initiated by these individuals but authorized by the Daṇḍanāyaka, the Nālgāvuṇḍa and the nāḍu. The third and most significant reference comes from the Suḷidēnahaḷḷi inscription (Kōlār taluk,district) of AD 1017-18. This records that the nāṭṭōm of Kaivāra nāḍu bound themselves to give one goat to Cāmuṇḍēśvari, the goddess of Jayangondaśōla caturvēdi mangaḷam, the guardian deity of the nāḍu every Tuesday.*115 Another inscription from the same place directs the collector of taxes (irai taṇḍugira) Koyiṟṟaman, to recover a fine of five Kaḷañjus of gold for every goat not supplied. Further, if the gāmuṇḍa of the ūr or nāḍu failed to supply the goat(s) they were to be fined a hundred Kaḷañjus of gold. The king, Rājēndra Cōḷa is designated the guardian of the charity.*116 It is not clear whether the fine for non-compliance was decreed by the nāṭṭōm or by the king nor to whom the revenue from the fine accrued. The nāḍu assembly thus was empowered to (i) make grants (ii) decree contributions from the inhabitants of the nāḍu for a common purpose. It seems to have developed under Cōḷa influence in southern Karnataka and its composition is unclear from available evidence.

In southern Karnataka corporate bodies appear to have played a more significant role at the level of the individual settlement rather than at the nāḍu level. We have references to Mahājanas*117 (the corporate body of the brāhmaṇa agrahāras) to bodies of the okkal (the Eṇtokkal of Coorg *118 or Ayvattokkaḷ of Mysore*119) of traders (the Tuviyāl śreṣṭhi group*120 the Maṇigrāma,*121 Nānādēśi*122 and Vīra Baṇanju*123

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*115 EC X (old ed) Kl 26.

*116 Ibid, Kl 25 of c.AD 1017*117 EC III (new ed) Nj 244,254; EC IV (new ed)Pp 117,EC VII (old ed) Sk 45(b), EC IX (old ed) Bn 40,Ht 9;EC X (old ed) Kl 200 Ct 43,44,etc.

*118 EC I (new ed) No.96 *119 EC IV (new ed) Ch 136,155.

*120 EC VIII (new ed) Hn 10 *121 Ibid,K.V.Ramesh, op.cit.,No.11

*122 EC III (new ed) Nj 215, Hg 110,142; EC V (new ed) TN 25.

*123 EC III (new ed) Hg 59.

groups), and of the gāvuṇḍas, (Pannirvar gāvuṇḍagaḷu)*124. Many corporate groups are denoted merely by their numerical title such as the Twelve*125 the Twenty*126 Forty,*127 the Thousand*128,etc. The composition of such groups is unclear. A ninth century record from Vijayapura indicates that the local corporate group, the "Twelve" of Kiṛupeḷnagara could control the okkal. After the consent of the local rulers Maṇaleyarasa and Raṇapāra had been obtained, the Twelve had to be paid gold to enable the legal settlement of the okkal there.*129 Clearly the Twelve of Kiṛupeḷnagara enjoyed superior rights over the land there and could hold sway over the tenant population. It is possible that the Twelve were gāvuṇḍas but the silence of the inscription makes it difficult to reach a definite conclusion. At all events, corporate bodies such as the Twelve of Kiṛupeḷnagara seem to have been closely associated with local chiefs in administration.*130 They figure as donors*131 and witnesses to grants*132 in several records. They were also recipients of gifts*133 and tax remissions.*134 They appear to have participated in the development of irrigational facilities for which they received grants of bittuvaṭṭa.*135 The role of such corporate bodies in the early medieval polity of southern Karnāṭaka will be further dealt with in the next chapter.*136

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*124 EC III (new ed) Nj 240, EC IV (new ed) Ch 141.

*125 EC III (new ed) Nj 187, EC IV (new ed) Ch 82, 147, 347, Ko 10 etc.

*126 EC IV (new ed) Yl 138.

*127 EC VII (new ed) Mu 57, EC X (old ed) Kl 11

*128 EC VI (old ed) Cm 95; EC VII (old ed) Sk 45(b), etc.

*129 EC V (new ed) TN 146.

*130 EC III (new ed) Nj 282, 294,etc.

*131 EC IV (new ed) Ch 141; EC V (new ed) Kn 41, EC III (new ed) Gu 92,etc.

*132 K.V.Ramesh, op.cit.,No.85,EC III (new ed) Nj 148,etc.

*133 EC V (new ed) TN 207,200,etc.

*134 EC IV (new ed) Yl 138; EC V (new ed) TN 145,etc.

*135 EC X (old ed) Bp 4.

*136 Vide Chapter IV sections D, E.

Burton Stein has pointed out that in southern Karnataka locality governance was vested not with the corporate group of the nāttār but with chieftains bearing the title of gāvuṇḍa, prabhu or Pergaḍe with the word nāḍ prefixed thereto. These chiefs in his opinion, enjoyed perquisites of dues and land.*137

Epigraphic evidence indicates that headship (gāvuṇḍu) was exercised at two levels that of the individual settlement (ūr) and the nāḍu. Thus we have references to both ūrgāvuṇḍas and nāḍugāvuṇḍas. Ūrgāvuṇḍas could rise to the position of nāḍgāvuṇḍas *138 and sometimes hold the two positions concurrently. *139 Kings could confer the position of nāḍugāvuṇḍas on the successors of heroes as a reward for military service.*140 But, by and large, these positions were heritable at least by the tenth century.*141 As Stein holds they enjoy perquisites of dues and land.*142 The functions and responsibilities of the nāḍugāvuṇḍas will be taken up in a subsequent chapter.*143

In contrast to the Nāḷgāvuṇḍas the Pergaḍes do not appear to be generally associated with the chieftaincy of a nāḍu. By the eighth century they enjoyed authority over villages. By the tenth century this association had been strengthened and we have numerous references to Pergaḍes holding abhyantara siddhi rights over villages.*144

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*137 B.Stein, op.cit.,p.110.

*138 EC IX (old ed) Cp 135 and Cp 129

*139 ASMAR 1929 No.78, p.150

*140 EC III (new ed) Hg 5, EC VIII (new ed) Ag 105.vide Chapter IV,.Section E, Service Assignments, p. 237

*141 EC VII (old ed) Sk 219.

*142 ASMAR 1929, No.78,p.150 refers to a nadugavunda holding the living (balige) of Balligame along with the Nadugavundu of Jidduralge - 70

*143 Infra, Chapter IV,Section D.

*144 Infra Chapter IV, Section C(I).

References to Pergades ruling nadus are scarce*145 and in most cases such pergades enjoyed a higher rank holding the additional title of Mahāmātya.*146 We have only one reference in our sources to a Nād Pergade. This comes from the Kaṇatūr inscription (Ālūr taluk, Hāssan district) of AD 1025. This mentions Nād Pergade Dāsayya of Cōḷayūr among the witnesses to the Paṭṭa bandha ceremony of a gāvuṇḍa of Kaṇṇatūr who was bestowed the śeṭṭivaṭṭa by a chief bearing the title of Māleparāditya. (the sun among Mālepas).*147

In sum Nādus appear to be primarily agrarian units which were used by the rulers as administrative units as well. In Karnāṭaka we do not have much evidence for corporate bodies at the nadu level. Instead Nadu chieftaincies prevailed, with Nālgāvuṇḍas holding sway over a nāḍu and participating in the political developments of the period in their region. On the other hand, Pergades, who have also been associated with nāḍu chieftaincy by some scholars, appear more frequently in inscriptions as the rulers of villages. Some of them, however, held a higher rank and may have held sway over an entire nāḍu. Prabhus in contrast appear either as administrators or an informally constituted body of notables to demarcate boundaries of granted land or to witness a grant. Gāmigas were either village headmen or substantial landlords who perhaps constituted a corporate group at the nāḍu level and undertook its defence.*148

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*145 ASMAR 1926, No.100, pp. 87-88 of c. AD 800 and EC VII (old ed) Sk 179 of AD 997.

*146 Infra Chapter IV, Section C(I).

*147 EC VIII (new ed) Al 8.

*148 Infra Chapter IV, Section C(III) & (IV)

## C. VILLAGE LAYOUT

The sources for this study are entirely epigraphical. Copper plate inscriptions recording grants of villages often give details of boundaries. As we shall see below, these indicate that villages were largely bounded by natural features such as rivers,streams, water channels, hills and rocks. Lithic and copper plate inscriptions recording grants of land give us some information regarding the layout of the village, of fields, tanks, irrigation channels and temples. Details of ownership of land, the soil and crops grown thereon are often included. Numerous lithic records register the fact of the excavation of new tanks or wells and grants for their maintenance. We have but few references, however to streets and houses and these are insufficient to derive a clear picture of the habitations. We have no information also as to whether houses were grouped according to the occupation and social status of the inhabitants.

(I) BOUNDARIES: The Hireśakuna copper plates*176 are among the earliest to include details of village boundaries. This inscription records the grant of Kadaḷakaḷani grāma together with Vāsuka kṣētra. This included lands bounded on the south by an aśvattha tree, a hill (parvata madhyam), Karvelli kṣētra mūla,and a water course (adaka patha); to the west the Peṇṇa river and the Pallavakeṇṇi village, to the north the water course, thence the Kadailkūra Mūlakṣētra and Kaḍakoramūla, finally ending in the meeting point of the two water courses (adaka sangama)*177. The Haḷḷegere copper plates of Śivamāra I dated AD 713 records the grant of Pallavataṭāka grāma as a brahmadeya.*178 This village was newly constituted and comprised Koḍugoḷe and Beḷkeṛe villages to the south of the river Kiḷine and Beppampāl and Paṇusepaṭṭi to its north. This was done after the construction of a bridge (sētubandha) across the river Kiḷine.*179 The boundaries of the newly constituted

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*176 EC VIII (old ed) Sb 33. of the sixth century.

*177 Ibid, Ll.8-12.

*178 EC VII (new ed) Md 35.

*179 Ibid, Ll.35-37.

village are specified as follows: "On the east the stone heap of the Kirukonninda tank in the Kadavakkāl on the highway running along the Kilina river; on the south, the eastern side of the Peggoninda tank along the Iggare river; and the river itself; the western boundary is the Velkere tank, proceeding further towards Beppampāl and Pēralgolli; on the north (the boundaries are) the streamlet Neserupalla, the village. Sēlivenne, the tanks Kiruballiyūr kere and Nidubatthakere along with its gulf".*180

The Bāradūr Grant charter of Śrīpuruṣa, dated AD 725 registers the grant of the village Bāradūr in Tegattūr viṣaya to Bāṇa śarma a resident of Vātāpi.*181 The charter includes an abbreviated description of the village boundaries. It appears to be bounded on all sides by streams: to the east the Dutumubūr palla, to the south the Paradagere palla, to the west the Kamuntegundi palla and to the north the Gottegere palla.*182

The Hullēnahalli plates of Śrīpuruṣa Ganga record the grant of Kovalavettu village to three brāhmaṇas after dividing it into three portions.*183 The boundaries of this village were as follows: "On the east the Pādari tree of the Olagere tank; proceeding thus and joining the tank; proceeding along the big water course (pērvalla) towards the west, the huge tamarind tree (pērvuṇuse) in the south, the main hillock (tale morade), the Bēdirkere tank and the pool named Modalemoduvu; in the west the canal of the Vēlgōla tank (vēlgōla kālum) and the river (tore); in the north, the Kadavigere tank, proceeding thus, the localities (?) named Manjat tone and Bālolbe, the hillock (moradi) named Sōral; proceeding thus, the heap called Bannigārla kuppe, the locality named Bālolbe, joining the Pādari tree".*184

We have an interesting instance of the same village being granted twice. The Dēvanūr plates of Stambha Raṇāvalōka dated AD 808 grant the village Badaneguppe in

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*180 Ibid, Ll.58-61. Translation follows K.V.Ramesh, op.cit.,p 128.

*181 EC V (new ed) Kn 48. *182 Ibid, ll 39-40.

*183 EC VII (new ed) Md 14; K.V.Ramesh,op.cit.,No.65; pp.240-45

*184 Ibid, p.245, ll.46-50

Punnāḍa Eḍenāḍ viṣaya to the Śrīvijaya vasati at Taḷavaṇa nagara.*185 The same village is also the object of grant of the Mercara plates of Avinīta which are dated AD 466 but are in characters of the ninth century and are clearly spurious.*186 While in the first case the grant was entrusted to Vardhamāna guru of Śirmmaḷage gurugaṇa of the Koṇḍakundânvaya,in the second the trustee was Candaṇandi bhaṭṭāraka of Dēśiga gaṇa and Koṇḍakundânvaya. In both cases the grant was for the Śrīvijaya Jinālaya of Taḷavaṇanagara. It is possible that the Jinālaya came under the control of Dēśiga gaṇa after being dominated by the Śirmmaḷage gurugaṇa and the spurious grant was produced in order to legitimize this change of guard. Alternatively the earlier charter was lost and a new one concocted to retain hold over the Badaṇeguppe village.*187

The boundary details appear to indicate that the Mercara plates are later than the Dēvanūr plates. The Dēvanūr plates describe Badaṇeguppe's boundaries as follows: "To the north Ponarpuli (twin tamarind trees); to the north-west the Badaṇeguppe; on the south-east as one proceeds, the Kāgani tank; on the south, the spurge thicket, the balkâni tree, the row of numerous medicinal herbs running westwards; the Koḷevandgāl at the trijunction of Badaṇeguppe, Koṭṭagāra and Muttagi, proceeding south-westwards, the Kaṭhaka tree; on the west the Peḷduḷdil tree,the banyan tree belonging to Śântereti;the stream bed (toṟevaḷḷa); proceeding northwards, the row of medicinal herbs (bahūmūlikāpanti), the Jambupadi tank, the tamarind tree (cin̄ca vṛkṣa); the nerggila clump (gumpu) at the trijunction of Badaṇeguppe, Muttagi, Koḷeyanūr, Mammasūr, and Niḍuveḷunge; the village Gajasale on the north,

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*185 EC III (new ed) Nj 278

*186 EC I (new ed) No.1. The contents and language of the record clearly point to its being of a later period than it purports to belong.Introduction,p x-xi.

*187 Ibid.

*188 EC III (new ed) Nj 278, Ll 59-63.

*189 EC I (new ed) No.1, Ll.18-19

the red rock (Kembare moradi) below the Kayga stone heap, proceeding eastwards, the row of medicinal herbs,the banyan tree in the locality called Kaḍapaṭṭigāla; on the north-east, the tank at the trijunction of Badaṇeguppe, Dāsanūr and Polma, the tamarind tree in the locality (?) called Koḍigaṭṭi; on the east the boundaries meet on the Kemtarāmlu mound."*190 This seems to indicate that in the course of the ninth century, the area around Badaṇeguppe came to be settled on a large scale since we have references to villages, trees and herbs absent in the Dēvanūru copper plates. Such large scale settlement would explain the references to new nadu units in inscriptions ot the eighth, ninth and tenth centuries. *191

A similar reference to neighbouring villages is found in the Mysore copper plates of Cāgi Permāḍi,*192 assignable on palaeographic grounds to the eleventh century. This records the grant of Kaḍekoḷa village as Kalnāḍ (grant in appreciation of valour or military service).*193 The boundaries of Kaḍekoḷa are described thus: "Going in the southern direction of the trijunction of Kaḍekoḷa, Khāravūra and Paidage; going towards the east of the trijunction of Kaḍekoḷa, Khāravūra and Taṇḍeya, going towards the north of the white hillock (beḷmoraḍi) and the trijunction of Kaḍekoḷa, Peruvēḍu and Taṇḍeya; going to the west of Pasarekallupaḷḷa (stream) towards the west of the banyan tree (āladamara) to the north of Kallodagere (tank) and the trijunction of Kaḍekoḷa, Pēruvēḍu and Mariyase, going towards the north of the heap of stones (Kalkuppe) to the east of the stream (paḷḷa) upto Niriḷe, thence towards the north of the junction of Kaḍekoḷa and Mariyase, going to the west of the southern side of the tank (kere) turning towards the west of the Kaḍavipaḍikaṭṭigere (tank) and the trijunction of Kaḍekoḷa, Mariyase and Paṭṭāl; to the south, going towards the south of the stone to the west of the stream Suḷdiḷperiyabeḷungu; going to the south of the trijunction of

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*190 Ibid, Ll.21-31. Translation follows K.V.Ramesh, op.cit.,p.65.

*191 Supra, Section B, p 16

*192 EC V (new ed) My 102.

*193 Infra, Chapter IV Section E, Service Assignments.

Kaḍekoḷa, Paṭṭāl and Peydage, to the east of Taṇḍilagadāpu (?) going to the Puṇuse (tamarind) tree. Near the Asagapole (Washerman's stream),Kirubēḍu(?) and the trijunction of Kaḍekoḷa, Paidage and Khāravūra where the boundary joins the starting point."*194

The reference to the Washerman's stream in the boundary details is significant. It implies that different occupational groups had access to different sources of water in the village. This surmise is further strengthened by the Perjjarangi Grant charter of Racamalla I of AD 819. This registers the grant of Perjjarangi village situated in Eḍediṇḍe-70 in Marugaṟe viṣaya as a brahmadēya to Nāgadēva Bhaṭṭa of Bhāradvāja lineage (kula).*195 The boundaries of Perjjarangi were thus determined: "The north-eastern boundary the extreme southern end of Gāmaguḍḍa tank; the eastern boundary, the extreme western end of the goldsmith's (suvarṇakāra) tank; at some distance comes the eastern corner of the Sīgegeṟe tank, then the edge of the Washerman's tank (rajaka taṭāka); then the banyan tree; then the canal from the Mahākāmra tank (kulyasatata); then the western end of the Vaikoṇṭa tank; then the southern end of the Toṇḍigeṟe tank; then at some distance the southern end of Niḍugaṭṭi; then the Sinnapāṣhāṇa boulder and near it the great banyan tree; then the southern end of Naukkigeṟe; then the southern end of the Tenandākageṟe; then Piliyal (?); then the western portion of the Sirikkigaṟega tank; then the boundary of three villages formed by the aśvattha tree; then the southern end of the Nallūr tank; then the southern part of the Mādavāḍi tank then the southern part of the Kōmara tank; then the tamarind tree named Mahāmadhu; thus it is bounded."*196

In all the cases studied above, the boundaries comprised rivers, streams, tanks, hillocks and hills, trees and shrubs. In the Gaḷigekere plates of Raṇavikramayya

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*194 EC V (new ed) My 102. Ll.6-22. of the villages mentioned in this record only Kaḍekoḷa and Mariyase survive today.

*195 EC V (new ed) Kn 49, Ll. 103-111.

*196 Ibid, Ll.112-120.

Ereyanga I Ganga, we have a reference to a house and street forming the boundary of Kolanellūru village which was granted to a brāhmaṇa Parapadi Bhaṭṭa of Ārida gōtra.*197 However, just prior to the description of the boundaries, the inscription states that the extent of land granted was twenty gaṇḍugas.*198 This causes some confusion since it is unclear whether the area of Kolanellūru as a whole was twenty gaṇḍugas or land to that extent within the village was granted.*199 If the latter alternative holds good, it would mean that the boundary details relate only to a part of the village. The land thus granted was bounded to the east by the river (toṟe), to the south by the house (māḍa) of Bhaṭāra and the big lane (peroni), the tanks of Tenandakagere and Permugagere, to the north the Kirumāmi stream (pervaḷḷa), Vederakeṟe,a big thicket (pērōḷve) on the bund (ēri) of Śālattakāḍu. Pagantevaḷḷa, gosanatane(?) and the tank Kondindageṟe to the south of Pervaṭṭe, a thicket (ōḷve); to the west a fence (vaḷvēli) is joined with the big gulf (golli) at the beginning of the oozing land (peljoge); to the north the boundary is joined by the big gulf to the Kāvēri."*200 Excepting the southern boundary which was formed by the residence of the Bhaṭāra evidently an individual of importance given his title and the reference to his house (māḍa)*201 and the big street (pērōṇi), the other details follow the pattern already witnessed in earlier grants

As the records indicate then villages seem in the majority of cases to have been bound by such natural features as rivers streams, hillocks*202 and hills. In addition in

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*197 EC V (new ed) Kn 105. *198 Ibid, ll 72-73.

*199 D.C.Sircar's I.E.G. states that Khaṇḍuga was a land measure of 64,000 square yards of dry land and 19,000 square yards of wet land-which would be approximately equivalent to 15 acres. Twenty Khaṇḍugas could therefore well be the area of an entire village.

*200 EC V (new ed) Kn 105, ll 73-77.

*201 F.Kittel, A Kannada-English Dictionary, q.v.Māḍa: a large building or a storeyed house

the maidān and semi malnād regions to which the villages described above belonged, the construction of tanks and channels for irrigation provided additional landmarks. Trees, shrubs and thickets too were used as boundary markers. In certain areas such as Edenāḍ-70 or in the plains north of the Kabbāni where the villages appear to be closely clustered as the Mercara and the Mysore copper plates indicate, the neighbouring villages are included among the boundary details. We also gather the impression that habitations were not situated near the outskirts of the village. But the data base is too inadequate for generalization.

(II) FIELD LAYOUT:- Several records,both copper plate and lithic, specify details of the location of granted land. The Bīrūr copper plate inscription of Viṣṇuvarma Kadamba of the fifth century AD is among the earliest to give us some information on the location of granted land. However, it is unclear whether the land thus described belonged to any village. The inscription records the grant of Ankataṭāka grāma in Sindhuthaya rāṣṭra together with a hundred nivarttanas of land located between (or inclusive of) the Nandapadapatha (road) and the bridge (Sētubandha) over Kaṃṇēsaka river.*203 It would seem that the hundred nivarttanas were not at any rate, a part of Ankataṭāka grāma. The boundaries of the village are not specified.

The Hosakōṭe plates of Avinīta which record grants of land to the Jaina temple established by Simhaviṣṇu's mother provide us with greater details of the field layout.*204 The grants included

(i) seven Khaṇḍukāvāpas*205 of land including the wet fields of the śramanas*206 below the great tank (mahātaṭaka).

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*202 Granite boulder heaps are a common sight in the southern maidan vide section A. This would explain frequent references to hillocks and stone heaps.

*203 EC VI (old ed) Kd 162., ll 20-22

*204 K.V.Ramesh, op.cit.,No.14 of the close of the fifth century.

*205 D.C.Sircar, I.E.G. q.v.Khaṇḍukāvāpa, area of land required for sowing one Khaṇḍuka measure of seed grains.

(ii) In the centre of the village (Madhya bhāgé) five Khandukāvāpas of field (ksētra) and one garden land (totta) for growing sugar cane (iksu nispana-ksamam)

(iii) One Khandukāvāpa in the southern part of the village.

(iv) Twelve Khandukāvāpas of forest land (āranyaka) to the north of the village.

All these lands were situated at Palliūru village in Korikunda bhoga. The interesting aspect of this grant is the precise location of lands which were granted. It would seem that fields were evenly spread out over the area of the village. The great tank of Palliūru was a significant land mark. It is also interesting to note that the grants included some land which belonged to the śramanas. Does this imply resumption of lands by the king? The grant of forest land is also noteworthy. It is indicative of (i) the expansion of arable land and (ii) the erosion of common rights of pasture in the forest lands.*207

The Mallohalli plates likewise record the grant of twelve Khandugas of rice (vrīhi) lands below the tank at Meluru as brahmadēya.*208 The Nandi copper plates of Mādhavavarman palaeographically assignable to the eighth century also grant ten Khandugas of land below the tank at Pērpūsūru in Morasa nādu to Gatti śarma of Konninda gōtra.*209 Tanks are also the landmarks in the case of some of the lands granted to the Lōkatilaka Jinabhavana constructed at the instance of Kundācci, the queen of Paramagūla Prithuvi Nirggundarāja on the northern side of Śrīpura.*210 These were

(i) grant of ten Khandugas of land below Dundu samudra (tank);

(ii) two Khandugas of paddy field (kalani) under the Kamaragattu (dam) in the plain fields (bayalul) of Śrīpura;

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*206 Ibid, q.v.śramana, a Buddhist or a Jaina monk; here possibly the latter

*207 R.S.Sharma, "How Feudal was Indian Feudalism" in H.Mukhia and T.J.Byres (ed) Feudalism and Non European soceities, p.

*208 K.V.Ramesh, op.cit.,No.16. of the early sixth century.

*209 Ibid, No.3. *210 EC VII (new ed) Ng 149. of AD 776 ll 55-58.

(iii) six khaṇḍugas under the Perggeṟe tank, and

(iv) twenty khaṇḍugas of cultivable (bede) land between the Eṟepuḷigeṟe (tank) and Koyilgoṭṭa.*211

It is thus clear that tanks were important landmarks in the village and the location of fields were most often specified in relation to them. Many other instances can be cited in this connection. An inscription from Māvali (Sorab taluk, Shimoga district) records the grant of one mattar*212 of land for the maintenance of Gōḷiyakeṟe (tank). The granted land was situated to the south of the southern outlet (kōḍi) of Muvvelvakeṟe (tank).*213 The Tallapaḷḷi inscription (Bowringpet taluk, Kōlār district) also of the eighth century records the grant of thirty Koḷas *214 of paddy field (kaḻani) under the Tāmarakaṭṭu sluice (tumbu) of the western tank of Pelpaḍuvu to Bolva Ganga gāmuṇḍa as kalnāḍ.*215 Similarly, a tenth century record from Tālagunda (Shikārpur taluk, Shimoga district) registers the construction of a tank and the grant for a perpetual lamp (nandādīpa) for the deity of five mattals of garden land (toṭṭa) below the tank.*216 An inscription from Ōṭūr (Sorab taluk,Shimoga district) records the grant of a two mattal field below the Nōsigagoḷa (pond) for a temple constructed by Pergaḍe Nākiyayya who was ruling Cittaraṭe Ōṭūr.*217 The Kampalapura inscription (Piriyapaṭṭaṇa taluk, Mysore district) of the ninth century records the grant of two khaṇḍugas of paddy land (nelmaṇṇu) situated below Maltikeṟe (tank).*218 Similarly, a fragmentary inscription from Honnūr (Yelandur taluk, Mysore district) registers the grant of five guḷas of cultivable wet land (bede galde) in

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*211 Ibid, ll. 65-69.

*212 D.C.Sircar, I.E.G.,q.v.Mattar a land measure, same as nivarttana, which varied from age to age. q.v.,nivarttana.

*213 ASMAR 1941 No.29, p.191-92 of the eighth century.

*214 D.C.Sircar I.E.G. q.v.Kola A land measure.

*215 EC X (old ed) Bp 13.

*216 EC VII (old ed) Sk 322 of AD 935-36.

*217 EC VIII (old ed) Sb 70 of c.AD 939,l.12. *218 EC IV (new ed) Pp 117.

(or below) the tank of Ponnavayya's elder for Ponnavayya who died in a cattleraid.(turugōl)*219 Thus locating granted land in relation to tanks was a common practice.

Water channels or canals are also referred to in the epigraphic record. The Kumsi inscription (Sorab taluk,Shimoga district) of AD 931 records the grant of one mattal paddy land (battava galde) situated between two canals or water conduits (pāne eradu) leading off the big canal (piriya pane).*220 Likewise, the Doḍḍahomma inscription (Nanjanagūḍ taluk,Mysore district) of AD 977 refers to the main channel (berumgālu) from the lower bund (kīlēri) of Baḍikeṛe. It would seem that the channel itself had been granted in this case.*221

Natural streams (paḻḻa) were also significant landmarks. We have seen above that they often marked village boundaries. Even within the village they could be used to demarcate fields. In a ninth century record from Marase (Mysore taluk, district) land on raised ground or hillock (temaru) situated to the north of the stream (paḻḻa) was granted for Bhagavatī set up by Bijāyitaṇṇa at Mariyase.*222 The land too was probably situated at Mariyase though it is not so specified. A eleventh century record from Marūru (Hunsur taluk, Mysore taluk) mentions four gaṇḍugas of wet land in or near the stream (paḻḻa) for a hero Ipagoṇḍa, who died in a cattle raid.*223 An inscription from Kalkunda (Nanjangūḍ taluk, Mysore district) records the grant of land situated on the sand bank and bounded by the Kalapavanapāḷi (embankment). This seems to have been situated on the banks of a stream though the epigraph does not specifically state so.*224

All these were instances of fields located roughly in terms of a major land mark

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*219 EC IV (new ed) Yl 14.

*220 EC VIII (old ed) Sb 83

*221 EC III (new ed) Nj 294.

*222 EC V (new ed) My 186.

*223 EC IV (new ed) Hs 5.

*224 EC III (new ed) Nj 253 of the end of the tenth century

such as tanks, their channels, natural streams, hillocks,etc. Several inscriptions offer more complete details of field boundaries. The Marūru inscription (Arkalgūḍ taluk, Hassan district) of the ninth century registers the grant of several fields to Akhaṇḍa bhaṭāra as vidyādāna by Taddayya.*225 The grants consisted of

(i) Five Khaṇḍugas of battavāḷ (enclosed rice lands)*226 bounded on the east by the large channel (penbaykal); on the south by a mound (temare); on the west by a big mound (peldevare) and on the north by the channel (bāy kāl) of Naragavaḷḷa.

(ii) Three khaṇḍugas and five gulas of wet land in the sedimentary soil (Kaḍagōḍina nīrmaṇṇu)*227 to the east of the Arakeṟe tank. It was bounded on the east by a channel (bāy kāl), on the south by a mound (tevaru) on the west by a stream (paḷḷa) and on the north by a big mound in the large field (pērbayalalli peddevaru)

(iii) A garden (toṇṭa) in the sedimentary soil to the north of Kōsigageṟe (tank).

We thus get a picture of lands within a village crisscrossed by tank channels and streams with mounds and hillocks forming additional landmarks to distinguish one field from another. In addition to such features, temples too were used as landmarks within the fields of a village. Thus the Kumsi grama inscription of AD 950 registers the gift of some land to the north of the Koppa basadi.*228 The details of the land, its extent and quality are not given, however. Similarly the Nandigunda inscription of AD 1021 (Nanjanagudu taluk, Mysore district) records of one pāḷi (raised ground) situated to the north of the temple.*229

We have several references to forts (kōṭe) in villages from Shimoga district. The earliest references come from hero-stones of the eighth and early ninth centuries. The

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*225 EC VIII (new ed) Ag 28.

*226 Kittel, op.cit.,suggests that batta could be the tadbhava form of bhatta; while vāḷ might be the same as vāḷ-circle or circumference. However, the editors of EC VIII (new ed) explain battavāḷ as rice lands.

*227 I follow the translation provided by the Epigraphia Carnatica (new ed).

*228 EC VII (old ed) Sh 114, l.29-30

*229 EC III (new ed) Nj 201.

Māvali inscription of Gōyindara Ballaha (Gōvinda III.Rāṣṭrakūṭa) records the seizure of Vasavūr koṭṭe, in the course of which some hero perished.*230 Another record from the same place and period mentioned an assault on Pergumji kōṭe, *231 while an epigraph from Induvaḷḷi records the death of an inhabitant of that village in liberating Vasavur kōṭe from invaders who had come from Golliga nāḍ.*232 None of these inscriptions, however, mention cultivated fields located in the vicinity of the fort. This is found in the Hecce inscription (Sorab taluk) of AD 939 two forts are referred to in the course of the description of granted lands. The inscription records grants made for the Srikanthesvara temple which included (i) the rent-free (taḷavṛtti) land situated to the south of the Kōṭe and in the Kallakaveya polaṉe (field); and (ii) a sejje gadde (wet land) situated in front of the Vāmana...pa kōṭe.*233

Field locations were also specified in terms of the land owned by other individuals. Thus the Dēvarahaḷḷi copper plates of Śrīpuruṣa include a grant of garden land (toṇṭa) which was situated to the west of the field of Duṇḍu gāmuṇḍa.*234 Similarly, the Mēlāgani inscription (Mūlbāgāl taluk, Kōlār district) of AD 767 records a grant of one Khaṇḍuga and five gulas of rice land (kaḷani) above the wet lands of Canna, to Maduregīḷe Vella śarman.*235 A Taḍimālingi inscription (T.Narsipur taluk, Mysore district) of the early eleventh century which registers the sale of lands at Irugaiyanpaḷḷi, a hamlet of a brahmadēya settlement, Marudūr, locates one of the plots of land in terms of temple lands and the gift land of a washerman (Vaṇṇan kuḍangai) which formed respectively the eastern and southern boundaries. The western and northern boundaries were constituted by tank channels(vāyakkāl).*236 We may, in conclusion, turn to the Śirālakoppa inscription (Shikārpur taluk, Shimoga district) of AD 1019.*237 This records several grants for the Mūlasthana Nandikēśvaradēva and

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*230 EC VIII (old ed) Sb 1.

*231 Ibid, Sb 10

*232 Ibid, Sb 542.

*233 EC VIII (old ed) Sb 476

*234 EC VII (new ed) Ng 149, 1.66.

*235 EC X (old ed) Mb 80

*236 EC V (new ed) TN 227.

*237 EC VII (old ed) Sk 125

.for Caturmukhadeva. The shrine of Caturmukhadeva was bound to that of Mūlasthāna Nandikēśvaradēva, (pratibaddha).*238 The details of the location of granted lands exemplify most of the points discussed above. The donations consisted of:

(i) Twelve mattals of wet land (gadde) in the Konabayalu (open space or field) situated in the south-western part of the pura*239

(ii) One mattar field to the south of the southern stream (paḷḷa). This field was bound by a stream on the west also*240

(iii) One mattar field to the north of the above field. Its boundaries: on the south the southern stream (paḷḷa) to the north Kariyakere's northern outlet (kōḍi); to the east, the pond (koḷa) below the next field*241

(iv) Two mattars of wet land in the open space (bayal) beside the land belonging to the deity (dēvarabhūmi)*242

(v) Thirty units of flower garden situated to the north of the temple*243

(vi) Two mattars of areca (aḍake) garden (toṇṭa) below the tank (kereya keḷagaṇa)*244

(vii) Near the northern outlet of the tank referred to above, and to the south of the Haḷḷidala kere a flower garden (pūdoṇṭa) of fifty units.*245 These grants were for the Mūlasthāna Nandikēśvara temple. For Caturmukhadeva the donated lands were as follows:-

(i) One mattar land to the east of the tank of the earlier taḷavṛtti holders (Mumnaḍava taḷavṛttiyara kere).*246

(ii) Forty units of flower garden (pūdoṇṭakam) around (the shrine of) Kamnavayya Tumānadēvar.*247

(iii) Forty units of garden land to the west of Baḷḷigoḷa and to the north of Bādumbe.*248

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*238 Ibid, ll 35-36.

239 Ibid, l 28-29

*240 Ibid, l 29-30

241 Ibid, l 30-31.

*242 Ibid, l.31-32.

243 Ibid, l 32

*244 Ibid, l.34.

245 Ibid, l 34-35.

*246 Ibid, l.36

247 Ibid, l 36-37

*248 Ibid, l.40

Apart from cultivable fields, we have references to waste land and to pastures. Their locations within the village, vis-a-vis other features of the agrarian landscape are not specified. Thus,for instance the Dēvarahaḷḷi copper plates of Śrīpuruṣa includes the grant of one Khaṇḍuga of village waste land (ūr pāḻu) of the village Paḷeya Eṟenallūr.*249 Similarly, the Hōsūr plates (Gauribidanūr taluk, Kōlār district) of Śrīpuruṣa, of AD 762-63 registers the grant of waste land (ūrpāḷ) of the extent of being sown with thirty kuḍabas, situated in the villages Eḷangūḍalūr, Maṟiyācigūḍalūr, Paṟuvi and Śrīpuram.*250 The earliest definite reference to pasture land comes from an eighth century inscription at Vastāre (Chikmagalur taluk,district) which records the grant of pasalam (pasture land).*251 The details of the donor and donee are both absent since the inscription is fragmentary. An inscription from the close of the ninth century at Kalkunda(Nanjanagūḍ taluk, Mysore district) also records the grant of a pasture situated west of Beḷavakāle (a water channel) to (the deity) Nārāyaṇasvāmi.*252

The Kuḷagāna copper plates of Śivamāra Ganga*253 refer, in the opinion of Shama Sastry, to the grant of a garden (toṭṭa) for the maintenance of cattle belonging to the deity - (dēvara paśu) of the Caityālaya at Kellipūsūr.*254 This interpretation has been accepted by B.R.Gopal et.al., the editors of the latest edition of the Epigraphia Carnatica. K.V.Ramesh, however offers an alternative interpretation that is a literal rendering of the inscriptional reference, i.e.,that the cattle were sold to purchase the garden.*255 This seems more acceptable. Another doubtful reference to a grazing land occurs in the Saraguru copper plates of the eighth century which records the grant of one aḍuvu to an individual named Nindigunda, at Mardūr by the Mahājanas of Keśugoḷa. B.R.Gopal et al have suggested that aḍuvu was probably a grazing land.*256

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*249 EC VII (new ed) Ng 149, l.66. *250 EC X (old ed) Gd 47, l 46,48.
*251 EC VI (old ed) Cm 93. *252 EC III (new ed) Nj 249 *253 EC IV (new ed) Ch 347. *254 ASMAR 1925, pp 90-92
*255 K.V.Ramesh,op.cit.,p 139, fn 2. The line in question reads
"dēvarapaśu goṭṭondu toṭṭam koṇḍattu...", l 26.

The Kumbaladadalahalli virgal (Hosakōte taluk, Bangalore district) of the close of the ninth century also includes a grant of ten Kolas of aduvu to Anileya's son and Nelmalla Annamma's son-in-law (Aliya) for rescuing cattle (turuvan ikkisi).*257 Although it is possible that aduvu was pasture land, there is no concrete evidence to support the suggestion.

While our sources give us considerable information on the layout of fields, the details available are insufficient for a complete picture. The following conclusions may be drawn from the available data:

(i) Tanks were the most important landmarks in the rural landscape and fields were most often located in relation to them

(ii) Tank channels (bāykāl) and streams (palla) were other features used to demarcate one field from another, as also hillocks and mounds (temaru)

iii) We also have references to open fields (bayal) within which lands were granted. It is unclear, however, whether these were similar to the open fields of the agrarian (system of medieval Europe.*258 We also appear to have a reference to an enclosed field.*259

(iv) Apart from tanks, streams and channels, temples and forts too were land marks in terms of which field locations were pinpointed.

(v) References to waste lands, forest lands and pastures are also available, though their location vis-a-vis the cultivated fields not specified. The grants of such lands to individual beneficiaries would point to te erosion of common rights within the village.

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*256 EC III (new ed) Hg 90, ll 36-37, also vide p 816, Translations.

*257 EC IX (old ed) Ht 110.

*258 R.H.Hilton, A Medieval society: The west Midlands at the end of the Thirteenth century, Reprint,Cambridge 1983, p 115.

*259 EC III (new ed) Nj 239 of the tenth century grants Muttere to a temple. Kittel, op.cit.,explains Mutte as a verb, to enclose and ere as soil of a dark colour, black soil.

(III) STREET LAYOUT:-

References to streets and houses are few and far between in our records and in only one of these can the details of the layout be glimpsed. The Hosakōṭe plates of Avinīta Ganga are one of the earliest epigraphs to mention a house which was situated in this case, in the vicinity of the temple (dēvāyata sannikṛṣṭam ēkam vēśma) which was granted for the Jaina temple constructed by the Pallava queen mother.*260 The Kulagāna plates of Śivamāra I Ganga of the early eighth century mention a house site (Manettāna) which was among the objects granted to the Caitya at Kellipūsūr. However the location of this house site is not specified.*261 An eighth century record from Ālgōḍu (T.Narsipur taluk, Mysore district) also refers to a house (mane).*262 But this inscription is too fragmentary to make sense. A more detailed reference occurs in the Dēvarahaḷḷi copper plates which record the grant of one house (māḍamane) and thirty-one house sites (manetāna) in Devangēri in the northern and western corners of Śrīpura.*263 Dēvangēri (street) extended apparently on the northern and western sides of settlement. It is unclear whether it surrounded a temple from which it derived its name. At all events, the house and house sites were granted to the Jinabhavana and its trustee, Vimalacandrācārya of the Mūlagaṇa Nandisangha, Eregiṭṭūrgaṇa and Pulikalgaccha.*264

The Gaḷigekere copper plates of Ereyanga Raṇavikramayya and its reference to the big street (pērōni) and the house (māḍa) of the bhaṭāra*265 have been mentioned earlier in the discussion of the boundary details.*266 It would seem that this important street and habitation were located on the outskirts of the village forming its southern boundary.

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*260 K.V.Ramesh, op.cit.,No.14, ll 29-30

*261 EC IV (new ed) Ch 347

*262 EC V (new ed) TN 307, l 7.

*263 EC VII (new ed) Ng 149 l.69-70

*264 Ibid, ll 45-50.

*265 EC V (new ed) Kn 105 of the ninth century.l.73.

*266 Supra, Section C.(I), p.34

A tenth century record from Tāyūru *267 (Nanjanagūḍ taluk, Mysore district) mentions Matigūr's Baḷuvalgēri (street) and its oḍeya (lord, chief,leader).*268 whose wife's death by the rite of sanyasana is then recorded. Would this imply that each street or locality had its chief or leader ?

A reference to an Eastern street (Mūḍagēri) comes from the Kalkunda inscription (Nanjanagūḍ taluk) of the close of the tenth century. This records the construction of a temple by an individual belonging to the Mūḍagēri and grants thereto by his sons.*269 This would suggest that the street was a discrete social unit within a village and residence there constituted part of an individual's identity. Unfortunately our sources do not throw any light on whether occupational and caste groups tended to reside in separate localities which were then named after the group as in Tamil Nadu.*270 However in view of the fact that different occupational groups had access to different water sources as we have seen earlier, *270(a) it is probable that they resided in separate localities also. While the record in consideration does suggest that streets were aligned to the cardinal points, it does not tell us whether there was a central reference point in street alignment.

We turn finally to the Śirālakoppa inscription*271 which was referred to earlier.*272 In addition to grants of land this records grants of certain streets also: (i) Two kēris (streets) on the southern side of Nandikēśvara temple stretching to the east and two kēris to the east of these, stretching to the south.*273

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*267 EC III (new ed) Nj 211.

*268 F.Kittel, op.cit.,q.v.oḍeya.

*269 EC III (new ed) Nj 253.

*270 N.Karashima, "Village Communities: Myth or Reality" in idem, South Indian History and Society; studies from Inscriptions AD 850-1800, Delhi,1984.,p.46-47.

*270(a) Supra, Section C(I) p33

*271 EC VII (old ed) Sk 125.

*272 Supra, section (II) p.41

*273 EC VII (old ed) Sk 125 l.33-34.

(ii) In the southern part (tenkaṇa bhāga) of the temple of Caturmukha deva, two streets (eraḍu kēri) stretching from the north-west near Niḍugoḷa (pond) to the south-east to the Main Road (Rājavīdhi) and two streets to the west of the temple stretching from the north-west corner (bāyabyada kōṇa) eastwards to the Baḷḷigoḷa (pond).*274

At Śirālakoppa at least, the streets discussed above were clearly aligned around temples, although the direction of alignment in the second case is not very clear. The reference to streets in the southern part of the temple might indicate that the temple complex included streets and lanes within its ambit. Another significant feature mentioned in this record is the rājavīdhi.*275 As in the case of the Pērōṇi referred to in the Galigekere copper plates it was possibly the street on which the houses of the chief(s) and other important persons were located.

The limited evidence at our disposal makes generalization impossible. However, it would seem that in at least one case streets were aligned around temples to the cardinal directions. The directional layout is also indicated in two other cases. A street appears, too, to have been a discrete social and perhaps a political unit as well to judge from the reference to the chief of a kēri. But it is not clear whether the individuals residing in a particular street also shared an occupational or caste identity, though it is very likely to be the case.

(IV) HAMLETS:-

We have numerous epigraphic references to hamlets (paḷḷis), the majority of which occur in inscriptions of the Mysore district. This is primarily due to the abundance of epigraphic material from Mysore. Moreover, a dispersed settlement pattern is characteristic of both the maidān and the malnāḍ.

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*274 Ibid, ll 37-39.

*275 F.Kittel, op.cit.,q.v. rājavīdhi - the main or principal road

In Jaina canonical works such as the Uttarādhyayana sūtra, pallis connoted a tribal village.*276 This is also the case with the earliest Kannaḍa literary works. Thus, the Vaḍḍārādhane, a Jaina work of c.AD 920 mentions a Bēḍa hamlet (Bēḍa vaḷḷi).*277 Bēḍas were a tribe of forest people living by the chase.*278 Another reference to a Bēḍa hamlet (Bēḍara paḷḷi) comes from the Cāvuṇḍarāya purāṇa which mentions a brāhmaṇa joining a hunter (vyādha) named Kāḷaka who dwelt in the Bēḍa hamlet in a cattle raid (tuṟuvam koṇḍalli) on Vinītanagara.*279 In Pampa's Vikramārjunavijayam (henceforth Pampa Bhārata) of c.AD 940, the Pāṇḍavas are amused at the peculiarities of dress, speech and manners of the rustic inhabitants of small villages*280 (Kālūrgaḷ). This is in contrast to the respect shown by them to the Mahājanas of the Mahāgrahāras. These rustic settlements are also differentiated in the Pampa Bhārata from the bāḍa which signified a town or a village.*281 Though the term paḷḷi is absent here, perhaps these kālūrgaḷ were also tribal villages and thus the peculiarities of the dress and customs (naḍeyuḍeya nuḍiya muḍiya gāmpinge)*282 of its inhabitants excited comment and amusement of the refined and cultured elite. This association of hamlets with tribal settlements is not generally brought out in our epigraphic sources.

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*276 Cited in K.M.Shrimali, Agrarian structure in Central India and the Northern Deccan, Delhi 1987., p 23

*277 D.L.Narasimhachar (ed), Śivakōṭyācārya's Vaḍḍārādhanā, 7th Reprint, Mysore 1986, p 206.

*278 F.Kittel, op.cit., q.v. Bēḍa.1

*279 B.S.Kulkarni (ed) Triṣaṣṭhi Lakṣaṇa Mahāpurāṇa (henceforth Cāvuṇḍarāya purāṇam), Dharwad 1975 p.331.,of c.AD 980.

*280 F.Kittel, op.cit.,q.v.Kālūr

*281 D.C.Sircar, I.E.G, q.v.Bāḍa.

*282 N.Anantarangachar (ed and transl),Pampa Bhāratam, Kannaḍa Sāhitya Pariṣat, Bangalore, 1977.,II.97. Vacana.

The earliest epigraphic reference to a palli comes from the Talakāḍ inscription of the first regnal year of Śrīpuruṣa (T.Narsipur taluk, Mysore district). It registers the grant of a palli to the Twenty-five of Talakāḍ by Paramakūla's son Arakēśi at the request of Sindarasa, Manasija and Devasathiarasa. The location of this hamlet is not specified .*283

Another inscription of Śrīpuruṣa Ganga, dated AD 791 from Basavaṭṭi (Chāmrājnagar taluk, Mysore district) mentions Ārmeḷeyapaḷḷi, which was possibly a shepherds' settlement, a Kuṛipaṭṭi. Alternatively a kuṛipaṭṭi was situated close by. The record registers the grant of two Khaṇḍugas of land and taxes on land (Maṇṇadeṟe) in perpetuity and the remission of taxes on shepherds (Kuṟimbadeṟe) in favour of Kuṟimba gāvuṇḍa and Kaṭakaya.*284 In the story of Dharmaghoṣa bhaṭāra in the Vaḍḍārādhane, we have a reference to a turupaṭṭi (a cowherds' settlement). The cowherds were apparently nomadic since the two monks in the story reach the turupaṭṭi in quest of alms only to find it deserted. The cowherds had moved elsewhere.*285 The shepherds in the Basavaṭṭi inscription however appear to have settled down more or less permanently as a tax on land was also levied. The process of social differentiation also was underway for the headman (gāvuṇḍa) of the shepherds (kuṟimba) received grants of land and the proceeds of taxation.*286

The Koṭṭimba Grant charter of AD 799 of yuvarāja Mārasimha registers the grant of the village Ālūr together with its hamlet Vāydeüt in Kuṟuvāḷe viṣaya as a brahmadēya. Here the hamlet appears to be attached to a larger village. The social composition of Vāydeüt is not specified in the record.*287

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*283 EC V (new ed) TN 207

*284 EC IV (new ed) Ch 126.

*285 D.L.Narasimhachar (ed), op.cit.,p 147,148

*286 Infra, Chapter IV Sections D. *287 K.V.Ramesh, op.cit.,No.50.

We have numerous inscriptions which record grants of pallis to individuals or temples. Thus, a fragmentary inscription from Kalkunda (Nanjangūḍ taluk,Mysore district) of the ninth century mentions a palli which was probably the object of a grant to a deity or a brāhmaṇa *288 The name of the hamlet and its location are not specified. Similarly, the Bēḍakūru inscription (Maddagiri taluk, Tumkur district) of the late ninth century records the gift of land and the ownership (sāmya) of a palli for the maintenance of a tank (kere goḍage).*289 A kalnāḍ grant of (Ka)ppa(ha)ḷḷi in Guḷdapāḍi is recorded in the Doḍḍahuṇḍi inscription (T.Narsipur taluk, Mysore district). The donee was a Manemaga of Nītimārga Ereyanga I who followed his master in death in AD 870.*290 The Biḷiyūru inscription of Satyavākya Rācamalla II (Coorg district) of AD 888 registers the grant of twelve hamlets of Biḷiūr, the income of which amounted to eighty gadyāṇas of gold and 800 units of paddy to Sarvaṇandi bhaṭāra for the maintenance of the Satyavākya Jinālaya at Peṇṇekaḍanga. The reference to no less than twelve hamlets of a single village highlights the extremely scattered settlement pattern characteristic of the Malnāḍ.*291 The Hoḷalavāḍi inscription (Nanjanagūḍ taluk, Mysore district) ascribable to the tenth century on palaeographical grounds registers the grant of ten Kolagas of land in a palli (Palliyalu) to a hero who sacrificed himself.*292 Once again the location of the hamlet is not specified. A tenth century record from Mangaḷa (Chāmrājanagar taluk, Mysore district) registers some grant concerning twelve pallis to the gāvuṇḍa of Mangaḷa.*293 Unfortunately the details of the grant as well as the location of the hamlets are now lost.

This difficulty is not presented by the Toṇḍavāḍi inscription (Gundlupet taluk, Mysore district) of AD 975, which records the death of Ayapayya who belonged to the hamlet (palli) of Toṇḍavāḍi.*294 Similarly, the Taḍimālingi inscriptions (T.Narsipur

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*288 EC III (new ed) Nj 249.
*289 EC XII (old ed) Mi 102.
*290 EC V (new ed) TN 257
* 291 EC I (new ed) No.96.
*292 EC III (new ed) Nj 188.
*293 EC IV (new ed) Ch 138 of AD 965.
*294 EC III (new ed) Gu 59

taluk, Mysore district) of the early eleventh century refer to the hamlets of Māyilangai in Iḍai nāḍu and of Marudūr. Paḷasapāḷi the hamlet of Māyalangai is mentioned in the course of details of the land sold to the temple of Iravikula Māṇikkaviṇṇagar āḻvār. The hamlet was situated to the south of the land sold, and was separated from it by a stone set up to mark the land boundary.*295 In the second case, Irugaiyanpaḷḷi, the hamlet of the brahmadēya, Marudūr, was situated below the big tank of Marudūr. The granted lands were situated at Irugaiyanpaḷḷi.*296 In this case also the donee was the temple of Iravikula māṇikka viṇṇagar āḻvār.,i.e.,the Janārdana temple at Taḍimālingi. Finally, we have the eleventh century Chittavaḷḷi inscription (Chikmagaḷūr taluk, district) which records the grant of two kuḷas of rice and ghee (śoppa?) from the hamlet (paḷḷi) to the Jīvitēśvara temple at Chittavaḷḷi. Once again, the location of the hamlet is not specified.*297

Our inscriptions then do not bring out the association of paḷḷis with tribal settlements, except in the case of Ārmeḷeyapaḷḷi, which is mentioned in eighth century Basavaṭṭi inscription as a Kuṟipaṭṭi, or a shepherds settlement. However the fact that the majority of inscriptions referring to paḷḷis record their grant to an individual or a temple or a brahmadēya might indicate a process of acculturation whereby the tribals were brought in touch with and subordination to the ruling elite. The spread of agrarian settlements over space chiefly as a result of tank construction might be another cause of the emergence of a new hamlet which was then considered subsidiary to the larger settlement and part of it. Such a process is highlighted by B.D.Chattopadhyaya in his study of twelfth century Kalikaṭṭi.*298

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*295 EC V (new ed) TN 230.

*296 EC V (new ed) TN 227. Details of the granted lands are discussed above, Section C (III).

*297 EC VI (old ed) Cm 95. The editor, B.L.Rice is of the opinion that the hamlets were eight in number but this does not seem to be borne out by the text of the inscription.

*298 B.D.Chattopadhyaya, op.cit.,p.99-100. Biṭṭēnahaḷḷi was established in AD 1208-09 after the construction of two new tanks by Hoḍeya Biṭṭēya.

(V) IRRIGATION

We have seen earlier that tanks were major landmarks in the agrarian landscape. The excavation of new tanks, the repair of old damaged ones and grants for tank maintenance were major preoccupations of the ruling elite. This is brought out clearly in the Pampa Bhārata wherein the Pāṇḍavas on their way to Vāraṇāvata from Hastināpura repaired old tanks and made grants for their maintenance.*299 This is reflected in the epigraphic record as well. Thus the Gaṭṭavāḍi plates of Nītimārga Ereyanga II of AD 904 (Nanjanāgūḍ taluk) records the creation of a new village, Śivayyamangaḷa by a brāhmaṇa Śivāryya around a large tank (Mahātaṭāka) excavated by him and fed by waters from three small rivulets (kṣudra nadītraya) called Bidirina, Puḷivalla and Māvamma flowing from the great forest (Mahāraṇya) Mangaḷi.*300 This new village was thereupon granted by Ereyanga II, on the orders of Rācamalla II to Śivāryya himself as brahmadēya.*301 Among the boundary details of the village, we have a reference to Gaḷakkere constructed by the queen (arasiyu Kaṭṭida kere).*302 If the brāhmaṇa Śivāryya is identical with the donee of the Kerehaḷḷi plates of the same monarch, it would seem that he was a military vassal who maintained a thousand elephants for his sovereign in the Konga nāḍu viṣaya.*303 Similarly the Bētamangaḷa inscription (Bowringpet taluk, Kōlār district) of c.AD 950 records that Vaiḍumba śikhāmaṇi Vikramādityan Tiruvayya repaired the big tank (piriyakere) of Vijayādityamangaḷa on the orders of his overlord Irava Nōḷambādirāja Nuḷipayya. To see that it remained strong in perpetuity he granted the bittukaṭṭa (grant for tank maintenance) to the Five Hundred Mahājanas of Kayvāra. The right of bittukaṭṭa in this case is said to include the limits of the Mahāgrāma Vijayādityamangaḷa as well as the four limits of Kaṇṇanūr and Manayūr.*304 It is interesting to note that the corporate body of another village was given the rights over another village for the

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*299 Pampa Bharata II 97 vacana; "alligallig-oḍeda Keregam aḷidāyatanakkam dhanamanittu jīrṇoddhāramgaḷam māḍisuttim".

*300 EC III (new ed) Nj 402, ll 76-78.

*301 Ibid, ll.61-62, 79-88.

*302 Ibid, l.92.

*303 EC IV (new ed) Ch 354, l.74-76

*304 EC X (old ed) Bp 4.

.maintenance of a tank there. The reason why this was done is not clear.Another noteworthy feature of the Bētamangala inscription is the surrender of rights over Kannanūr and Manayūr as well as Vijayāditya mangala for the maintenance of the tank. Would this imply that the great tank irrigated lands of Kannanūr and Manayūr also ?

The role of the members of the upper echelons of the ruling class is also brought out by the Nerilage inscription (Arsikere taluk, Hāssan district) of AD 971-72. This records the grant of bittuvatta by Cāgiyabbarasi to an individual named Būtuga who was also the recipient of the village Nērilage as kalnād for his father's feats in the war against the Nōlambas.*305 Similarly, Pergade Puliyamma who is described as being "Mahāmātya-guna-sampanna", constructed a tank at Tālagunda, apparently since it is recorded in an inscription of that place.*306 Another Pergade Veleyamma had a well dug at Ōtūr.*307 The Bēvūr inscription (Channapatna taluk, Bangalore district) of AD 985 records a grant for the repair of the tank of Bēmpūr by Pergade Sankayya with the permission of Manalēra, evidently the local lord.*308 Likewise, an inscription from Jambehalli (Sorab taluk, Shimoga district) of AD 972-73 records the construction of two temples and a tank by Sandhivigrahi Kannayya.*309

Apart from rulers, feudatories and officials, we have references to construction of tanks and other irrigation works by Mahājanas, gāvundas, śettis, and even artisans. We have already referred to the Bètamangala inscription which records the grant of bittukatta to the Five Hundred Mahājanas of Kayvāra.*310 Similarly, the Karadihalli inscription (Shikārpur taluk, Shimoga district) of AD 1011 records the digging of a well by a brāhmana of Gautama gōtra in order to restore a grant of land made for a temple.*311 The land had suffered owing to lack of water. The donor

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*305 EC XV (rev.ed). AK 237. *306 EC VII (old ed) Sk 322 of AD 935-36

*307 EC VIII (old ed) Sb 70 of AD 938.

*308 S.Settar, ASMAR 1909,A study,vol II, p.126

*309 EC VIII (old ed) Sb 44. *310 Supra,p,fn 304.

*311 EC VII (old ed) Sk 287, ll 13-16.

was probably a Mahājana of the Śālipura agrahāra. The Nellūru inscription of AD 1013 (Sorab taluk) records that Ammaṇa gāvuṇḍa's brother-in-law (bhāva - sister's husband) Muddayya had a well dug.*312 Likewise the Rāmpura inscription (Channapaṭna taluk, Bangalore district) of AD 1004 records that Māca gāvuṇḍa, the son of Būvi Salbayya had a tank constructed and a sluice set up for which he received the grant of bittuvaṭṭa.*313

The Agara inscription (Bangalore taluk,district) of the ninth century*314 provides us with an instance of an ūr-oḍeya constructing irrigation works. Sirimayya the son of Irugamayya, the Iruvuḷiyūr oḍeya of Nāgatara lineage*315 had sluices erected for two tanks (tūmban ikkisi) and constructed a third tank to the east. He received bittuvaṭṭa for all three tanks.

A ninth century inscription from Ālattūru (Gundlupet taluk, Mysore district) records that Kariya Gangi śeṭṭi had a tank excavated (keṛeyagaḷisida) at Muḷcanūr.*316

The Koḍakaṇi inscription (Sorab taluk) of AD 1015*317 gives us an instance of a pond constructed by an artisan Caṭṭōja the son of Arjuna Kammāṛa*318 (a blacksmith) in memory of his father who died rescuing the cattle of his village.

As the inscriptions cited above clearly reveal, tanks were not the only sources of irrigation. We have references to ponds (kola), wells (bhāvi) and to dams (kaṭṭa). The references to wells come chiefly from Shimoga district. We have already cited some of the records referring to the digging of wells. Another instance is provided by the Beḷagi inscription (Sorab taluk) which records that Kōśigara Kōṭeyamma who

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*312 EC VIII (old ed) Sb 47. *313 S.Settar, ASMAR 1908, A study, vol II,p.57

*314 EC IX (old ed) Bn 79.

*315 Infra, Chapter II Section B. Non kin vassals of other lineages.

*316 EC III (new ed) Gu 36. *317 EC VIII (old ed) Sb 16

*318 F.Kittel, op.cit.,q.v. Kammāṛa.

was ruling Gōsahasra (Gōsahasram āḷdam) made a grant of gold to the mahājanas of Eḷase and had a well dug.*319

The land details given in the Dēvarahaḷḷi copper plates of Śrīpuruṣa had a reference to a dam (kaṭṭa).*320 Another inscription from the Maṇḍya district at Rāmpura (Shrīrangapaṭṭaṇa taluk) of the close of the ninth century records the construction of a dam (Kaṭṭam kaṭṭuvudakke) at Taḷenēri and a grant for its maintenance to Śrīkēśiga who had the dam constructed.*321

We have frequently mentioned bittuvaṭṭa, or grants for the maintenance of tanks in the foregoing discussion. The Indian Epigraphical Glossary explains it as "a portion of the produce derived from the lands irrigated by a tank or wet lands irrigated by a tank, granted to the person who built the tank or repaired it".*322 Although the term is not employed in the Rāmpura inscription, the grant made for the maintenance of the dam constructed by Śrīkēśiga affirms that tax yield of lands irrigated by the dam (in this case) were granted.

The rates of taxes paid for each āraṇi of land irrigated by the waters of the dam were as follows: One-tenth (pattondi) in the first year, one-seventh (?ēḷaḷavi) in the second year and one-fifth thereafter (aydaḷavi)*323 Similarly, the Basavapura inscription (Channarāyapaṭṭaṇa taluk, Hassan district) of the tenth century records the grant of pattondi (one-tenth tax) for every gaṇḍuga sown by the ūrāḷigas as a gift for the tank of Uttama gāvuṇḍa. This is also termed a bittuvaṭṭa.*324 Likewise, the Śālūr inscription of Kṛṣṇa II (Shikārpur taluk, Shimoga district) of AD 903 records the construction of a tank (Keṛeyumam Kaṭṭisi) by Kaṭṭamāran and the grant of nīrvari (water cess) for its maintenance. The cess was levied at the rate of one

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*319 ASMAR 1929, No.78, p.150

*320 EC VII (new ed) Ng 149; supra Section C (II), p. 36-37.

*321 EC VI (new ed) Sr 85.

*322 D.C.Sircar, I.E.G, q.v. bittuvaṭṭa.

*323 EC VI (new ed) Sr 85.

*324 EC V (old ed) Cn 251

Khanduga per mattar of cultivable land.*325 A more ambiguous reference comes from the Sōmasamudra inscription (Chāmrājnagar taluk, Mysore district) of AD 993. This records the construction of a tank by Ammaḍi gāvuṇḍa, son of Bijāyita gāvuṇḍa of Kiṟuvusuvūr by taking one-tenth (dassiva) of share (bhāga) of land belonging to Nōḷambēya gāvuṇḍa, as bittuvaṭṭa.*326

However we have explicit references to land, as opposed to share in the produce of land being granted. The Belūru inscription (Maṇḍya taluk,district) of AD 997 records inter alia,the construction of a tank, its bund (Keṟeya māḷakkam...kaṭṭeyam kaṭṭisi) and seting up of a sluice (tūmbanikkisi) and the grant of one kolaga of land as bittuvatta (keṟege koḷaga maṇṇu bittuvaṭṭamumam biṭṭar)*327 An inscription from Haḷe Būdanūr (Maṇḍya taluk, district) records the construction of a tank by Sōvirāśi bhaṭṭāraka and the grant of several kolagas of land by the gāvuṇḍas of Būdanūr as bittuvaṭṭa.*328 Likewise, an inscription from Karineḷe (Shikārpur taluk) of AD 1029 records the grant of one ma(ttar) for the tank of Karineḷe.*329 A fragmentary tenth century record from Beḷatūru (Heggaḍedēvanakōṭe taluk, Mysore district) appears to register the grant of ten khaṇḍugas of land for a tank as bittuva(ṭṭa). The tank was probably constructed by Būtuga Koṅgaṇi.*330 We have referred earlier to the Bētamangaḷa inscription which records the grant of Vijayādityamangaḷa as well as Kaṇṇanūr and Manayūr as bittukaṭṭa.*331

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*325 EC VII (old ed) Sk 284. l.5-6 "Kaṭṭam paḍisalisalendu Koṭṭudu pala nīrvariyoḷ beḷeva maṇṇuḷḷanitaroḷ mattal-gorkhaṇḍuga geydu koṭṭudu".

*326 EC IV (new ed) Ch 404,ll.6-9."Ammaḍi gāvundam Nōḷambēya gāvuṇḍana bhāgada dassiva bhāgam goṇḍu keṟeya kaṭṭisidam idara bittuvaṭṭa."

*327 EC VII (new ed) Md 67.

*328 EC VII (new ed) Md 54.of AD 1024.

*329 EC VII (old ed) Sk 81.

*330 EC III (new ed) Hg 107.

*331 EC X (old ed) Bp 4., supra,p51 ,fn 304.

A record from Biḷugunda (Nāgamangaḷa taluk, Mandya district) of the close of the ninth century registers the grant of wet lands (gadde) inclusive of dēvabhōga lands as bittuvaṭṭa for the tank of Kiṟiya Beḷgunda.*332 The reference to dēvabhōga lands might imply that a share of the produce and not land per se was granted. Another ambiguous reference comes from a tenth century inscription from Kārya (Nanjanagud taluk). This registers the grant of bittuvaṭṭa for two tanks constructed by Nāgavarma. A grant of four gaṇḍugas as koḍagi (gift, grant) is also recorded.*333 It is not clear whether this koḍagi was the substance of the bittuvaṭṭa. This difficulty does not arise in the case of the Bedakuru inscription of the late ninth century which recorded the grant of a paḷḷi as keṟegoḍage. (gift for tank).*334

In sum we may say that grants for the maintenance of tanks included both land and shares of the produce of the land irrigated by the tank. The donees were those who had constructed the tank; indeed the tank was apparently owned by them. This seems indicated by the Māvali inscription of the eighth century (Sorab taluk). This refers to the tank of Korakoḍa Koṇṇinda in the course of the description of the battle of Vasavūr Kōṭe.*335

Although we have numerous references to tank construction, our inscriptions are silent on the technical aspect of tank construction. In contrast, Pandyan inscriptions of the seventh, eighth and ninth centuries mention both the materials and techniques used in tank construction. By the ninth century granite was beginning to replace mud and laterite in the construction of bunds, sluices, wells, troughs, etc.,in the Pandyan territory. Major improvements in technique such as the use of chiselled blocks of stone instead of rubble and of a string-line to set the stone precisely are also recorded in their inscriptions.*336

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*332 EC VII (new ed) Ng 117.

*333 EC III (new ed) Nj 282.

*334 EC XII (old ed) Mi 102.

*335 EC VIII (old ed) Sb 1.

*336 Rajan Gurukkal, "Aspects of the Reservoir system of Irrigation in the Early Pandyan state" in Studies in History (N.S).,Vol II,No.2 (1986),p 159.

It is possible that similar developments in technology took place in southern Karnataka as well. Sluices made of stone are in evidence from the ninth century onwards.*337

Tank construction was an activity undertaken by the ruling elite of every level from kings, queens and feudatories down to the local landed elite such as the gāvuṇḍas and Mahājanas. We have even some references to construction of irrigation works by artisans. That tank construction was a major factor in agrarian expansion was clearly recognized.

Apart from construction, grants of produce of land and of land itself were made to individuals who constructed tanks for the maintenance of the tank, again by the rulers. A graduated increase in taxation on newly irrigated lands seems to denote a desire on the part of the rulers to convert dry lands to wet lands which clearly had higher yields.

(VI) SOILS:

We have a few references to the soil of the granted lands in our records. The earliest such reference comes from the Narasimharājapura plates of Śivamāra II. This records the grant of black soil land to the Cediya of Toḷḷar by Viṭṭarasa of Kadamba lineage who held the chiefdom (eṟettana) of Sinda nāḍu 8000. and was ruling Tagare nāḍ-70. The location of the black soil land (Karimāniya) and the extent of the granted land have not been specified.*338

A tenth century inscription from Nagarale (Nanjanagud taluk; Mysore district) records the grant of enclosed black soil (Mutteṟe)*339 to a temple at Nagarala.*340

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*337 EC V (new ed) TN, EC IX (old ed) Bn 79; S.Settar, ASMAR 1909 A study, vol II, p 124 ; Ibid, p. 125

*338 K.V.Ramesh, op.cit.,No.85. He interprets Karimāniya (l 2,6) as standing for Kariman, black soil. The inscription is of the ninth century.

*339 F.Kittel, op.cit.,q.v.muttu,ere-black soil.,

The Doḍḍahomma inscription of AD 977 of Satyavākya Rācamalla IV Ganga records several grants for a temple of Bhaḷāri, Mahādēva, Bhagavatī and the other deities situated at Piriyahoḷma. The donors were the Twelve (Pannirvaru) of Piriyahoḷma and Ayyapagāvuṇḍa. The grants included one of a red soil field (Kebbāyum). It is unclear whether this was the same as the field situated to the north-east of the Cikkēśvara temple.*341 Lastly, we have a tenth century inscription from Bāgaḷi (Chamrajnagar taluk, Mysore district) which records the grant of (i) four measures of red soil (Kebbeya maṇṇu) at Baliyūr;*342 (ii)the dark red soil (ēṟedu eṟeya maṇṇu) at Sindakāla.*343 for a temple at Bāḷgaliyūr. It is interesting to note that these red soil fields are distinguished from the twelve wet paddy fields (Panneraḍum gaḷde nīrmaṇṇum).*344 Would this imply that red soil lands were preferred for dry cultivation?

We have mentioned the presence of mixed black and red soils in the southern parts of the southern maidān in the study of the physical geography of this region.*345 All our references, save the one in the Narasimharājapura plates are assignable to the area to the south of the Kabbāni in the Nanjanagūḍu and Chāmrājnagar taluks, which fall in this zone of mixed soils.

## (VII) LAND CATEGORIES AND CROPS:

Broadly speaking our sources refer to three categories of land: wet, dry and garden. The majority of records which specify the category to which the granted lands belonged mention wet and garden lands. We also have numerous references to crops grown. Here again references to paddy outnumber the rest.

We have only two certain references to dry lands. These come from the Taḍimālingi inscriptions (T.Narsipur taluk, Mysore district) of the early eleventh

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*340 EC III (new ed) Nj 239.

*341 Ibid, Nj 294. Ll.9-10 give details of the granted field(s).

*342 EC IV (new ed) Ch 114, l.11

*343 Ibid, l.12

*344 Ibid, l 13.

*345 Supra, section A.

century. The first record of the reign of Rājarāja I Cōla registers the sale of dry (puṇsey) and wet (naṇsey) lands included within specified boundaries in the village of Māyilangai to the deity Iravikula māṇikka viṇṇagar āḷvār.*346 The second record of roughly the same period registers the sale of one and a half vēlis of dry (puṇsey) lands in hamlet Irugaiyanpaḷḷi of the brahmadēya settlement Marudūr to the same deity for temple services.*347

Apart from this the implicit distinction made in the Bāgali inscription between the red soil field and wet lands might point to the fact that these fields were dry lands.*348 It is, however, difficult to argue that absence of specification of land category would imply that the land in question was a dry field.

We have several references to cultivable lands. The Śālūr inscription of the ninth century records the grant of one mattar of cultivable land (beḷe mattal) by Śrī Māra, the son of Pubba gāmiga of Tenkavaḷḷi and Mālengi gāmigitti.*349 Similarly, the Kumsi inscription (Sorab taluk) of the early tenth century records the grant of one bede mattal by Kēśigarājayamalla gōsāsi.*350 However, an inscription from Kalkuṇi (Malavalli taluk, Maṇḍya district) of the close of the tenth century mentions cultivable wet land (bede gadde).*351 It is possible, but not necessary, that the first two instances of grants of cultivable land related to dry lands.

The Narasimharājapura plate of Śivamāra II Ganga registers the grant, inter alia of six khaṇḍugas of cultivable land (bede mannum) under the Dēvigeṛe tank by Vidyāśakti arasa to the Cēdiya of Mūḷivaḷḷi.*352 The location of the land below the

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*346 EC V (new e) TN 230.

*347 Ibid, TN 227. Details of the granted land are discussed in Section C (II).p40

*348 EC IV (new ed) Ch 114, supra,p. 58 *349 EC VII (old ed) Sk 283.

*350 EC VIII (old ed) Sb 91. *351 EC VII (new ed) Ml 147.

*352 K.V.Ramesh, op.cit.,No.86,l 2-6,"Dēvigeṛeya keḷage āruganḍugam vedemaṇṇum".

.tank strongly favours the possibility that it was a wet rather than a dry land. This is clarified by the Honnūru inscription (Yelandūru taluk, Mysore district) of the tenth century which records the grant of five gulas of cultivable wet land (bede galde) below the tank of Ponnavayya's elder (Piriya) for a cattle raider.*353

Gadde or galde was the term most often used for a wet land. Kittel explains it as a field, especially a paddy field.*354 Our inscriptions reveal that wet lands were used cheifly for cultivation of paddy. But we do have references to the cultivation of other crops as well. The Hiribidanūr inscription (Gauribidanūr taluk, Kolar district) of c.AD 880 records the grant of ten (?padi) Koḷas of wet land (galde) as brahmadēya.*355 Similarly, the Kumsi inscription (Sorab taluk) of AD 931 records the grant of one mattal of wet land for paddy cultivation situated between two canals (pāna battava eḍavari gaḷdagim) leading off a major water conduit.(piriya pāṇeyoḷ)*356

The Kundūr inscription (Hassan taluk, district) of the close of the tenth century records several grants of cash which was then invested in specified units of paddy or in paddy lands (akki gaḷdege).*357

However rice was not the only crop grown on wet lands as the Hecce inscription (Sorab taluk) of AD 939 reveals. This records the grant of a sejjegadde.*358 Sejje is a tall stout kind of grass cultivated for its grain.*359

The term kaḷani which is synomymous with gadde*360 has been used in the Kulagāna copper plates of Śivamāra I Ganga; it records the grant of two Kaḷanis (Kaḷanium eraḍu), for the Cēdiya at Kellipūsūr.*361 K.V.Ramesh translates it as two

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*353 EC IV (new ed) Yl 14.

*354 F.Kittel, op.cit.,q.v.gadde.

*355 EC X (old ed) Gd 5.

*356 EC VIII (old ed) Sb 83.

*357 EC V (old ed) Hn 38.

*358 EC VIII (old ed) Sb 476, l.16

*359 F.Kittel, op.cit.,q.v.sejje.

*360 F.Kittel, op.cit.,q.v. gadde.

*361 EC IV (new ed) Ch 347,l.18

pieces of paddy fields.*362 Inscriptions from Kōlār use the term kaḷani rather than gadde to denote paddy lands. Thus the Hulikunda inscription (Bowringpet taluk,Kolar district) of the mid-eighth century records the grant of four gulas of paddy land (Kaḷani).*363 The Nekkundi inscription (Chintāmaṇi taluk,Kōlār district) records a grant of five guḷas of kaḷani for a hero who died in a cattle raid.*364

The terms nīr maṇṇu or nīr pāṇya have also been used in the epigraphic record to denote wet lands. Thus a tenth century inscription from Chikmagaḷūr records the grant of 200 units of wet land (nīr pāṇya) to Permāḍi gāvuṇḍa of Kiṟiyamuguḷi.*365 Likewise an inscription from Maddūru (Yelandūr taluk, Mysore district) registers the grant of ten khaṇḍugas of wet land (nīr maṇṇu) in Origāla by the thousand brāhmaṇas of Maḷdūr for a temple constructed by Pollayya.*366 The Kempanapura inscription (Chāmrājnagar taluk, Mysore district) of AD 991 records the grant of (i) two Khaṇḍugas of wet land (nīr maṇṇu) at Kiri Hērūr; (ii) ten Khaṇḍugas of wet land (nīr maṇṇu) at Nalligunda together with a garden (tōṭa) for the repairs of a temple and for feeding ascetics by Poḷeyya of Kellūr.*367

We had referred earlier to the Marūru inscription (Arkalgūḍ taluk,Hāssan district) in the discussion of field layout. This record registers the grant of three Khaṇḍugas and five guḷas of wet land in the sedimentary soil to the east of Arakeṟe (tank) (Kaḍagōḍina nīrmaṇṇu)*368 Another reference to the sedimentary soil (kaḍegōḍu) comes from the Mūḍupāḷya inscription (Māgadi taluk, Bangalore district) of AD 968 which registers the

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362 K.V.Ramesh, op.cit.,p.138. *363 EC X (old ed) Bp 48

*364 Ibid, ct 36. of c.AD 880

*365 EC VI (old ed) Cm 3.F.Kittel,op.cit.pāṇya-a farm or landed estate.

*366 EC IV (new ed) Yl 40 of AD 982. *367 EC IV (new ed) Ch 145.

*368 EC VIII (new ed) Ag 28

grant of one Khanduga in the big wet land (peggalde) in the sedimentary soil to the east of the temple tank (dēvara kereya mūdana kadegōdinali).*369 A tenth century inscription from Basavanahalli (T.Narsipur taluk, Mysore district) records the gift of two khandugas of wet land (nīr mannu) and two of maduvina mannu.*370 K.V.Ramesh translates the latter as land by the side of the tank (madu)*371 It is possible that maduvinamannu is similar to kadagōdu, i.e.,the reference here is to the sedimentary soil by the side of tanks. If so,such soil was used for paddy cultivation. If the area covered by such land was insufficient then it could be used for coconut or areca plantations.

Another special category of land to which we have reference in our epigraphic record is makki. Kittel explains makki as "rice land above the level of the valley, which is to be watered and produces a crop of luxuriant growth."*372 The sole inscriptional reference to makki comes from Ōtūr (Sorab taluk). This records the grants of (i) two mattars below Nōsiga gola and (ii) two mattars in makki for the temple (dēgula) constructed by Pergade Nākiyayya.*373 Other grants of (i) one mattar in kaluvina makki and (ii)some land in areya makki were made for the deity Kēśavāditya set up by Pōleyamma's wife Gombabbe.*374 Gombabbe's temple appears to have received lands in stony ground.*375

Several inscriptions mention bhattada mannu (paddy lands). Thus the eighth century Bechirākh Mārēnahalli inscription (Hosakōte taluk, Bangalore district) records the grant inter alia, of thirty gulas of paddy land(battam)to Śrīpurusa

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*369 EC IX (old ed) Ma 75. *370 EC V (new ed) TN 320.

*371 K.V.Ramesh,op.cit.,p.322. Kittel however explains madu as a deep place in a pool or river, q.v. madu. Would this imply that maduvinamannu is land in the dried up tank bed ?

*372 F.Kittel, op.cit.,q.v.Makki. *373 EC VIII (old ed) Sb 70,l.12-13.

*374 Ibid, ll 17-19.

*375 F.Kittel,op.cit.,q.v.Kalu - a stone; q.v. are (4) a stone; a rock, a slab.

.Naiga.*376 Similarly, the Elkūru inscription (Chāmrājnagar taluk, Mysore district) of the ninth century registers the grant of one gula of paddy land (Mannu bhattamum) for an individual who excavated a tank.*377 Another ninth century record from Mādalavāḍi (Chamrajnagar taluk) records a grant of a hundred units of paddy lands (bhattada mannu) for Vējemalalpācāri.*378 The Kampalapura inscription (Piriyapaṭṭaṇa taluk, Mysore district)*379 registers a grant of two khandugas of rice lands (nelmannu)*380 below Maltikere. Likewise, the Malali inscription (Heggaḍedēvanakōṭe taluk, Mysore district) of the tenth century records the grant of 200 units of paddy lands (battada mannu) for a hero who distinguished himself in battle.*381 The Ereyūru inscription (Gundlupēṭ taluk) also of the tenth century registers a grant of 200 (ilnuru) units of paddy lands at Sirivantagāla.*382 The Nagarale inscription (Nanjanagud taluk) records a grant inter alia, of ten kolagas of paddy.*383 It is unclear whether this was a grant of land or of paddy in kind.

An inscription from Dēvarahaḷḷi (Gundlupet taluk) of the eighth century records the grant of a field (pola) wherein paddy (nellu) and pāndi could be grown.*384 We have no information with respect to pāndi. The fact that paddy was grown in the field in question would indicate that it was a wet land.

Apart from references to paddy lands we have numerous inscriptions which record grants of rice in kind, husked and unhusked. The Magudilu inscription of Sivamara Ganga (Heggadedevanakote taluk)*385 and the Mūḍahaḷḷi inscriptions (Nanjanagudu taluk)*386 record the grant of a sollage (a measure of capacity) of nellakki (husked and unhusked rice).

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*376 EC IX (old ed) Ht 86.

*377 EC IV (new ed) Ch 87.

*378 Ibid, Ch 304.

*379 Ibid,Pp 117.

*380 F.Kittel, op.cit.,q.v.nel; paddy, rice in husk.

*381 EC III (new ed) Hg 110.

*382 Ibid, Gu 171.

*383 Ibid, Nj 241.

*384 Ibid, Gu 207;l.7-8.

*385 Ibid, Hg 156 of the eighth century.

*386 Ibid, Nj 192,193

All these grants were for the deity of Vēdirūr. A highly damaged inscription from Varuṇa (Mysore taluk, district) records a grant of a similar kind although in this case the detail of the donor and donee are missing.*387 The Nelamane inscription (Shrīrangapaṭṭaṇa taluk,Maṇḍya district) of the late ninth century records the grant of a sollage of white rice (beḷiyakki).*388 Here too the details of the donee and donor are absent. The Sīge inscription (Hassan taluk, district) of the close of the ninth century records the grant of a paḍi or rice (akki) probably for a deceased hero.*389

In many cases grants of paddy or rice in kind were made in addition to grants of land. Such is the case with the Doḍḍahomma inscription of AD 977*390 (Nanjanagud taluk). Apart from grants of land*391 ten kolas of paddy too was granted. Similarly, the Bāgali inscription (Chamrajnagar taluk, Mysore district) referred to earlier, grants some rice for the festival (parbadakki) in addition to wet lands and red soil fields.*392 The Chittavaḷḷi inscription (Chikmagaḷūr taluk, district) of c.AD 1025 registers the grant of two kuḷas of paddy (bhatta) in addition to two villages and the income from the tolls (sunka) of Uppavaḷḷi for a temple.*393

From the large number of references to wet lands, paddy lands and to paddy as well as records for the construction of new tanks, it would seem that wet land cultivation of paddy was the mainstay of the economy. Certainly wet lands were preferred as grants to temples and brāhmaṇas as well as to secular donees and in secular transactions. This is indicated for instance by the Kundūr inscription of the close of the tenth century, (Hāssan taluk, district) which records several gifts of cash sums which were then invested in specified units of uncooked paddy (bēyada batta) and in

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*387 EC V (new ed) My 192. *388 EC VI (new ed) Sr 94

*389 EC VIII (new ed) Hn 62, Kittel op.cit.,q.v.padi-a measure of capacity equal to half a seer.

*390 EC III (new ed) Nj 294. *391 supra, section C (VI).p.58, fn 341.

*392 EC IV (new ed) Ch 114, l 16 *393 EC VI (old ed) Cm 95 Ll 15-16; ll 9-10.

rice fields (akki galde).*394 A similar instance is provided by Uppavaḷḷi inscription of AD 959 (Chikmagaḷūr taluk, district) which records the payment of five hundred units of paddy (aynūru bhattamam) by Paṭṭaṇḍa of Ammāḷe to Haviga of Uppavaḷḷi.*395

References to crops other than paddy are scarce. An early reference to millet (śyāmaka)*396 comes from the Mēḷekōṭe plates of Mādhava II (Talakāḍ branch). This records the grant of

(i) five khaṇḍukā vāpas of land to the west of the clothiers field and north-west of their śyāmaka field*397,

(ii) eighteen khaṇḍukā vāpas of land yielding crops of śyāmaka grain*398 and

(iii) twelve khaṇḍukāvāpas of land yielding śyāmaka grain to the north of the highway.*399 Another reference to millet comes from an interesting record of the ninth century from Gattavadi (Nanjanagud taluk).*400 This, in the opinion of B.R.Gopal et.al. registers the grant of a fallow millet field (paravariya jōlada kēy)*401 after its conversion to a fertile paddy field. (Kambaḷada*402 eda keysi). That it was a millet field is certain. Its conversion however is not indubitable. The record seems to indicate, rather, the employment of hired labour on the field in question. The inscription does not specify the category of land. The Hosakōṭe plates of Avinīta (Hosakōṭe taluk,Bangalore district) of the beginning of the sixth century, which record grants to the Jina temple constructed by the the Pallava queen mother includes a reference to a garden land for growing sugar cane (ikṣu niṣpādana kṣamam toṭṭa kṣētra).*403

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*394 EC V (old ed) Hn 38.

*395 EC VI (old ed)Cm 42.

*396 M.Monier-Williams, A Sanskrit-English Disctionary, q.v.śyāmaka, a kind of cultivated millet.

*397 K.V.Ramesh, op.cit.,No.11,l.7.

*398 Ibid ll 10-11

*399 Ibid, ll 14-15.

*400 EC III (new ed)Nj 313

*401 F.Kittel,op.cit.,q.v.Jōḷa a generic name for several species of millet.

*402 Ibid, q.v. Kambaḷa - daily hire or wages

*403 K.V.Ramesh, op.cit.,No.14.,l.29.

The Māmbaḷḷi copper plates too mention iksu (sugarcane) as one of the crops grown in Pumrāṣṭra.*404 The other crops grown in that unit are specified as follows: paddy (vrīhi), wheat (gōdhūma),barely (yava), pulses (raḍaka), etc. Fruits such as plantains (kadaḷi), areca nut (krâmuka) and coconut (nālikēra) were also cultivated.*405

A plantain garden is mentioned in the Meḍutambihaḷḷi inscription (Kōlār taluk, district) of the ninth century. Seven tūmbus (a land measure) of plantain garden (bāḷe toṭṭa) were granted to the oḍeyas of Nallattūr as a brahmadēya with all exemptions (sarvabādhā parihāra)*406

A coconut grove is mentioned as one of the objects granted for the basadi constructed by Śrīvarmayya by Ayyappa Nommayya. Another garden on the eastern bank of the river is also mentioned as the object of grant for the basadi at Kannamangaḷa in the Narsāpur plates of AD 902 (Kōlār taluk, district) but the fruits grown therein are not specified in this case.*407

Lithic records do not by and large specify what was grown in garden lands. The Śirālakoppa inscription which has been cited earlier,*408 is one of the few exceptions. This records grants of

(i) two mattars of areca garden (aḍake toṇṭa);

(ii) thirty units of flower garden to the north of the temple;

(iii) a flower garden of fifty units;

(iv) a flower garden of forty units; and

(v) forty units of garden land.*409

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*404 EC IV (new ed) Yl 167.

*405 Ibid, Ll 9-13.

*406 EC X (old ed) Kl 231.

*407 EC X (old ed) Kl 90.

*408 Vide supra, Section C (II) and (III), pp. 41, 45-46

*409 EC VII (old ed) Sk 125.

An inscription from Vijayapura (T.Narsipur taluk) of the sixth regnal year of Rājēndra I Cōla (i.e.,AD 1017-18) refers to a flower garden (varavana) raised by Bēdiyaṇṇa, probably at Kiṟuveṇnagara (modern Vijayapura).*410

The other early references to garden lands (toṭṭa) come from the Kulagāṇa copper plates of Śivamāra I Ganga. These record the grants of:

(i) A garden land (toṭṭa)given by Pallavelarasar.*411

(ii) a totta given by Kaṇṇamman of Gañjenāḍu.*412

(iii) a totta from Māragoṭṭēra;*413 and

(iv) a toṭṭa purchased after selling the cattle belonging to the deity.*414

However, we have no information as to whether these were flower or fruit gardens.

An eighth century reference comes from the Homma inscription (Chāmrājnagar taluk) of Śrīpuruṣa, which records the sale and grant of the northern and southern portions (khaṇḍam) of the garden of merchant(s) (vāṇiga toṭṭa) to the Vinitīśvara temple.*415 We do not know whether the land had originally been owned by an individual or by a corporate group of merchants. Nor does the inscription specify what was grown in this garden or its price.

The tenth century Gaṇiganūr inscription (Yelandūr taluk, Mysore district) records the grant of a piece of garden land (toṇṭa khaṇḍa) to the east of Aratoṇṭa to the deity Āditya bhaṭāra, by Ĕḷabbe.*416 Āra toṇṭa was probably a garden of Āra trees (Barringtonia acutangala gaertn).*417

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*410 EC V (new ed) TN 142.

*411 EC IV (new ed) Ch 347,l 18 *412 Ibid, l 19.

*413 Ibid, ll 25-26

*414 Ibid, l 26,also supra,section C (II), p. 42, fn 254.

*415 EC (new ed) Ch 147. *416 Ibid, Yl 174, l.7.

*417 F.Kittel, op.cit.,q.v. ara (2).

We have two possible references to flower gardens in two inscriptions of the early eleventh century. The Niṭre inscription (Gundlupet taluk, Mysore district) of AD 1009 registers the grant of five goḷas of pumboḷa for the deity Ādityadēva. Pumboḷa has been interpreted as flower garden by B.R.Gopal et.el.*418 Similarly the Beḷatūru inscription of AD 1020 records the grant of five gulas of pumboḷa for a renovated Śiva temple of Beḷatūru (Heggaḍedēvanakōṭe taluk).*419

In sum, we have but scant references to dry lands. The lack of specification of the category of granted lands cannot be taken as evidence that they were dry lands. The majority of references in our records are to wet lands, for most part, paddy lands. We also find millets, sejje and sugarcane among the crops mentioned. Among fruits grown we have references to plantains, areca and coconut plantations. Flower gardens were also often granted to temples.

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*418 EC III (new ed) Gu 62, p.587.

*419 Ibid, Hg 58.

## D) PASTORALISM and MIXED FARMING.

We have seen earlier that all the geographical regions included in the area under study, i.e., the Malnāḍ, the semi-malnāḍ and the southern Maidān are marked by high densities of cattle population owing to the easy availability of pasturage.*420 This seems to have been the case for the early medieval period as well. Epigraphic references to cattle raids, cowherds and shepherds point to the widespread prevalence of a pastoral economy in this region. Evidence for mixed farming is also available as we shall see below:

(I) REFERENCES TO COWHERDS AND SHEPHERDS:

References to cowherds are chiefly available from the Shimoga district. Several Shimoga inscriptions refer to gōsahasra and its vernacular derivatives gōsāsa and gōsāsi.

The Beḷagi inscription (Sorab taluk, Shimoga district) of AD 964 mentions Kōṭeyamma who is said to be ruling Gōsahasram.*421 Another inscription from the same place refers once again to Kōṭeyamman and styles him gōsāsi. His elder sister Akkaṇabbe is described as a gōyiti (cowherdess).*422 This would indicate that the terms gōsahasra or gōsāsi indicated a person owning a large herd numbering a thousand cows.*423 The Sāsaravaḷḷi inscriptions (Shikārpur taluk) of AD 1001-02 mention Āycaṇṇa Gāvuṇḍa gōsāsa of Sasagavaḷḷi who had a temple constructed (jaṛi dēgula māḍisidam).*424 The editor explains gōsāsa as one who either owns a thousand cows, has gifted a thousand cows or fought in defence of cattle.*425

The gift of a thousand cows is registered in several records. An eighth century inscription from Māvali (Sorab taluk) records the grant of a thousand cows (gōsahasram pradārum) by Āridara Pōḷeyamma of Maileya grāma together with eight beḷe mattals of land.*426 The Kumsi inscription of AD 910*427 records a similar grant to the Thousand of Kumbise by their magatin (servant or tenant) Kēśiga Rājayamalla.*428

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*420 supra, Section A, p.6, 7, 9

*421 ASMAR 1929, No.78, p.150.

*422 Ibid, No.79, p.152.

*423 The number may well be an exaggeration.

*424 ASMAR 1942,No.61, p 190-192.

*425 Ibid, p.192

*426 EC VIII (old ed) Sb 9.

*427 Ibid, Sb 91.

*428 F.Kittel, op.cit.,q.v.Maga.

Other references to gōsāsa / gōsāsi / gōsahasra occur in two records from Ōtūr dated AD 940*429 and from the Kirugunise inscription of AD 959.*430 The purport of these records is not altogether clear. While one of the Ōtūr inscriptions seems to record the death of a gōsāsi in battle,*431 the Kirugunise inscription probably registers the grant of a thousand cows. Finally we have the Gāmagrāma inscription (Shikārpur taluk, Shimoga district) of AD 1021 which records the death of Lokayya in whose honour a thousand cows and five units of land were granted (paroksada gōsāsi bhūmi 5).*432

Thus it appears that the term gōsāsa/gōsāsi indicates in some cases the owner of a large herd and in others the gift of a thousand cows. The number thousand is possibly exaggerated. But in any case it points to the existence of large herds of cattle in this area.

The Hecce inscription of AD 939 (Sorab taluk, Shimoga district) records several grants by Katakada gōva Cattayaya dēva of Banavāse in the presence of Mahāsāmantādhipati Māciga of Mātūra vaṁśa, who was ruling Banavāsi at the time to the Śrikanthēśvara temple.*433 Gōva is the tadbhava form of gōpa a cowherd.*434 The Pampa Bhārata refers to it in Śiśupāla's dismissal of Krsna as a mere cowherd, unworthy of first worship in a conclave of kings (paccane pasiya gōvanai).*435 The Indian Epigraphical Glossary suggests two other functions of a gōpa-one as a watchman and the other as an official in charge of the royal cattle.*436 Both are borne out by literary works. One of the stories of the Vaddārādhane mentions Vīrapūrna who is said to be the watchman (kāvu) of the royal cattle (arasara gōmandalam).*437 Similarly the Pampa Bhārata refers to Sahadēva's appointment as Gōmandalādhyaksa by Virāta when he appeared in the guise of a gōpāla.*438

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*429 EC VIII (old ed) Sb 75.77.

*430 Ibid, Sb 501

*431 Ibid, Sb 77

*432 EC VII (old ed) Sk 9,1 11.

*433 EC VIII (old ed) Sb 476

*434 F.Kittel, op.cit.,q.v.gōva,gōpa.

*435 Pampa Bhārata VI.52.

*436 D.C.Sircar, I.E.G.,q.v.gōpa.

*437 Vaddārādhane, op.cit.,p 66.

*438 Pampa Bhārata VIII.54 vacana

In the case of Caṭṭayyadēva he appears to have been an officer charged with the herds of a Kaṭaka (camp or capital).*439 Since he is specifically stated to belong to Banavāsi, the capital of Banavāsi nāḍ-12,000, the term Kaṭaka must perhaps be taken in the latter meaning here. However, a twelfth century vīrgal uses Kaṭakada gōva to denote protector of a camp.*439(a)

A vīrgal from Balla (Mūlbāgal taluk, Kōlār district) of c.AD 780*440 records the death of a tuṟuvalla (cowherd)*441 Uvalan together with an unnamed tuṟuvalti (cowherdess)*442 in defence of the cattle of Balla which were being carried off by Karapuran the son of Raṇamukha Duṭṭa. The cowherd (or his dependents) received five gulas of fields yielding one rice crop ('or kaḷamum').*443 Uvalan appears to have been the cowherd of Balla village and of far lower status than Caṭṭayyadeva who appears to have been an officer of high rank. An inscription from Haḷe Bogadi (Mysore taluk, district) of the early eleventh century*444 has a passing reference to a tuṟuvāla*445 (a possessor of cows), Cīyalayya by name. He was one among numerous witnesses belonging to various occupations who were present at the ceremony wherein the title of Goggiyācāri was conferred on Jōbācāri's son by Goggi gāvuṇḍa.*446 Another reference to a possessor of cows (?tuṟuālma)*447 comes from the Tinnilli vīrgal (Śrīnivāspur taluk, Kōlār district) of c.AD 880,*448 which records the death of Pottalgagi, a tuṟuālma probably in defence of cattle in the cattle raid by Śrī Kaṇḍiyya. The deceased hero received one khaṇḍuga of rice land (kaḷani) and five gulas of waste land (pālu).

We have only one reference to a shepherd in the Basavaṭṭi inscription (Chamrajnagar taluk, Mysore district)*449 which has been mentioned earlier.*450 This registers the grant of two khaṇḍugas of land and taxes on land (maṇṇadeṟe) as well as the remission of taxes on shepherds (Kuṟimbadeṟe) in favour of Kuṟimba gāvuṇḍa (a chief

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*439 D.C.Sircar, I.E.G, q.v.kaṭaka. *439(a) ASMAR 1941, p.151.
*440 EC X (old ed) Mb 92. *441 F.Kittel, op.cit.,q.v. Tuṟuvāla *442 Ibid, q.v.tuṟuvālti.
*443 Ibid, q.v. Kaḷama *444 EC V (new ed) My 221.
*445 F.Kittel, op.cit.,q.v.tuṟuvāla. *446 Infra, Chapter V Section B
*447 F.Kittel, op.cit.,q.v.tuṟu,ālma. *448 EC X (old ed) Sp 50.
*449 EC IV (new ed) Ch 126 *450 Supra, Section C (IV)

among shepherds?) *451 and Katakaya. A kuripatti (sheep fold or shepherds hamlet)*452 at or near Ārmeleyapalli is also referred to in the Basavatti inscription. The Kanatūr inscription (Alur taluk, Hassan district) of AD 1025 has a passing reference to a kurivalli, possibly a shepherds' hamlet.*453 But we have no certain evidence. The inscription records the tying of the settivatta on the gāvunda of Kannatūr. Among the numerous witnesses on the occassion we find Māca gāvunda of Kurivalli.

Thus we have a few references to owners of herds of cattle, chiefly from Shimoga district and one each from the Mysore and Kolar districts. Two references to cowherds are also available. We have but two references to shepherds and their hamlets of which one is suspect. A more complete picture of the pastoral economy of the region in the early medieval period can be obtained by a study of the distribution of cattle raid hero stones.

(II) CATTLE RAIDS: Cattle raids together with destructive raids on villages (ūr-alivu) and assaults on women (pendir-udeyulcal) are frequently recorded in inscriptions. A combination of all these is found in the Kōgōdu inscription (Bēlūr taluk, Hāssan district) of the early eleventh century. This records the death of Mācayya, the nephew of Śivāra gāvunda of Kōgōdu in a raid on their village by Gandara Dumma Kātayya, general of Nītimahārāja. The raid is characterized as ūr-alivu, tāy-udeyulcal (assault on mothers) and turugōl (cattle raid).*454 These are mentioned by Ranna in his Sāhasabhīmavijayam of c.AD 990 (henceforward Gadāyuddham) as among the chief occasions for a hero to display his prowess.*455

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*451 F.Kittel,op.cit.,q.v.gāvunda

*452 Ibid, q.v.kuri (3)

*453 EC VIII (new ed) Al 8.

*454 ASMAR 1939, No.36, p.143-144.

*455 R.V.Kulkarni (ed and transl) Sāhasabhīmavijayam, Published by the Kannada Sāhitya Parisat, Bangalore 1985, II.24.

Cattle raids have been related to the prevailing militarism of the age.*456 Indeed, in some cases they appear to have been motivated primarily by political factors. Such was undoubtedly the case with the uttara and daksina gōgrahana episodes in the Pampa Bhārata. Pampa has given a stirring account of the spirit of the defenders in the course of the description of the cattle raid.*457 Similarly, inscriptions from Guḍuve (Sorab taluk, Shimoga district) of AD 1032 record the death of several heroes in a cattle raid by the Kadamba chief Śāntayyadēva on Guḍuve in retaliation for an attack on the fort (kōṭe) of Banavāse.*458 A ninth century hero stone (vīrgal) from Challapura (Arsīkere taluk, Hāssan district) refers to a cattle raid on Kellangere in the course of a war over Sindhamma nāḍ (Sindhamma nāḍa bavaradoḷu).*459

In the majority of cases, however, the context of a cattle raid appears to have been purely local. In some cases our records mention Bēḍa inroads. The forest and hill-dwelling Bēḍas were a constant menace to the settled populations of the plains and valleys.*460 The Bēḍas are generally associated with cattle raids as is indicated by the Cāvuṇḍarāyapurāṇa in which the cattle of Vinītanagara are carried off by Kāḷaka a hunter dwelling in a Bēḍa hamlet, in association with a fallen brāhmaṇa.*461 Inscriptions from Beṭṭadakūrali (Sorab taluk) record two cattle raids by Bēḍas in AD 954 and AD 964.*462 The Cikkacāvuṭi vīrgal records the death of Piriya Aṭṭiya gāvuṇḍa of Kaccavikoḷa in defence of cattle which were being driven away by the Bēḍas.*463 Other Bēḍa inroads are recorded in an inscription from Kambadahaḷḷi (Nāgamangaḷa taluk, Mandya district) of AD 979*464 and three from Nallūr*465 (Alur taluk, Hassan district) of AD 985.

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*456 S.Settar and M.M.Kalaburgi, "The Hero-cult: a study of Kannaḍa literature from the ninth to thirteenth centuries"in S.Settar and G.D.Sontheimer (ed) Memorial Stones: A studyof their origin variety and significance, Dharwad 1982,p.28.

*457 Pampa Bhārata VIII.95

*458 EC VIII (old ed) Sb 60-63

*459 EC V (old ed) Ak 99.

*460 J.D.M.Derrett,The Hoysaḷas : A south Indian Royal Family, OUP,1957, P9.

*461 Cāvuṇḍarāyapurāṇa op.cit.,p 331.

*462 EC VIII (old ed) Sb 202,203.

*463 Ibid, Sb 240.

*464 EC VII (new ed) Ng 34.

*465 EC VIII (new ed) Al 35-37

But these were not cattle raids. The Kambadahalli inscription records the abduction of the women of Bindigānavale by the Bēdas and the Nallūr inscriptions an ūr alivu.

Apart from raids by Bēdas we have several references to cattle raids by inhabitants of neighbouring villages. Thus the Kurubele inscription (Bowringpet taluk, Kōlār district) of c.AD 890 records the death of Marangal odeya Kandamayya and Nāmagandhila Gandayya in a cattle raid.*466 The settlement which was raided is not mentioned however. Similarly the Nekkundi inscription (Chintāmani taluk, Kōlār district) of the same period records the death of a gāvunda in a cattle raid and the grant of five gulas of paddy land (kalani) by the king (arasa).*467 Here again, the place which was raided as well as the settlement to which the raider belonged are not specified. In the Bammondahalli inscription (Ānekal taluk, Bangalore district) of the close of the ninth century a cattle raid on Kadambūr is recorded in which Mangala Bīvanna a servant (ālu) of Nāgattara died. The cattle raid was led by Nāgadeva.*468 We are not told whence the raiders came.

In contrast, the Bharangi vīrgal (Sorab taluk) of AD 957 records a cattle raid on Kannasoge (in Shikarpur taluk) by Pebba gāmunda of Bārangi.*469 An individual named Baisarikaruva Muddanna attacked him as he fled with the cattle, fought and died. Similarly, the Niduvani inscription of AD 970 (Hole Narsipur taluk, Hāssan district) records a cattle raid on Niduvani by Keñca gāvunda of Bidirhāka (in the same taluk).*470 A vīrgal from Nāgamangala (Mandya district) records the death of Tanadakayya the gāvunda of Idugūr in a cattle raid (turugōlol) on Ādityapatti.*471 The Cinakurali inscription (Pāndavapura taluk, Mandya district) of AD 1011 records a raid by Turuvakanna of Cikavangala on a cattle pen (turuvalaga). The cattle were rescued by Nāgayya.*472 A similar attack on a cattle stall (Kottaga)*473 is referred to in an inscription from Laksmanapura (Heggade dēvanakōte taluk,Mysore district) of AD 1030. The cattle lifter was Śāntayya, the father-in-law (Māva) of Tattāla Ēca gāvunda.

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*466 EC X (old ed) Bp 64.

*467 EC X (old ed) Ct 36.

*468 EC IX (old ed) An 73.

*469 EC VIII (old ed) Sb 326

*470 EC VIII (new ed) HN 130.

*471 EC VII (new ed) Ng 12.

*472 EC VI (new ed) Ppu 51.

*473 F.Kittel, op.cit.,q.v.Kottage.

He was attacked and the cattle rescued by Binnāṇḍi who fell after the skirmish.*474

The examples cited above would suggest that, it was the gāvuṇḍas who most often undertook both cattle raids and defence. The impression is further strengthened by other epigraphic references. The Kaṭṭemanuganahaḷḷi inscription (Heggaḍedēvanakōṭe taluk) of the ninth century records the death of Rāma, the son of Permānaḍi gāvuṇḍa, while engaged in the rescue of the cattle of Kottamangaḷa which were carried off by the Bayalnāḍān in the course of a battle (vigraha).*475 The Iggali inscription of the ninth century (Nanjanagūḍ taluk, Mysore district) records the rescue of the cattle of Iggaliyūr by three gāvuṇḍas, Adhikāri gāvuṇḍa, Carama gāvuṇḍa and Śivaya gāvuṇḍa.*476 The Kūrgal inscription (Piriyapaṭṭaṇa taluk, Mysore district) of the tenth century records the death of a gāvuṇḍa of Kūrgallu in a cattle raid (turugōl)*477, while an early eleventh century vīrgal from Kittūr (Piriyapaṭṭaṇa taluk) records the death of a son of Bijaya gāvuṇḍa of Kittūr in a similar raid.*478 A tenth century record from Ereyūr (Guṇḍlupēṭ taluk, Mysore district) refers to the rescue of the cattle of Eraūr by Kādi gāvuṇḍa.*479 The Arakeṛe inscription (Shimoga taluk, district) records the death of Beṭṭuga the younger brother of Māragāvuṇḍa of...keṛe in a cattle raid.*480 Lastly we have the Māvinakere inscription of the tenth century (Nāgamangaḷa taluk, Maṇḍya district) which records the death of Rājayya, son of Gangi gāvuṇḍa in rescuing cattle (turuvan ikkisi).*481

Although references to cattle raids by gāvuṇḍas outnumber the rest, it was not a practice restricted to them. We have some references to merchants (śeṭṭis) and artisans (ācāri, Kammāṛa,ōja) engaged in cattle raids or in rescue of cattle. This shows that cattle were maintained by all classes of people in this period. Two records from Ālattūru (Guṇḍlupēṭ taluk, Mysore district) of the ninth century refer to a cattle raid by a group of merchants led by Ammaṇaśeṭṭi on Aṭṭi, probably in Cōḷa nāḷ where they had gone for trade (Paradu pōgi).*482

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*474 EC III (new ed) Hg 98. *475 Ibid, Hg 5. *476 EC III (new ed) Nj 205.
*477 EC IV (new ed) Pp 28 *478 Ibid, Pp 144. *479 EC III (new ed) Gu 171.
*480 EC VII (old ed) Sh 22. *481 EC VII (new ed) Ng 128.
*482EC III (new ed) Gu 36,37.

It is unclear why the merchants should have engaged in a cattle raid. It is possible that they traded in cattle and the action they undertook was defensive rather than offensive. However, the term turugōl is generally used to denote an offensive action while turuvam magulci and turuvan ikkisi are used to denote a defensive or rescue operation.*483 The use of the former in this case might point to the fact that the merchants were raiders.

Two other records referring to cattle raids (turugōl) by traders come from Elevāla (Sōrab taluk, Shimoga district) dated AD 1013. They record the death of two śettis of Midiyapallaga. The place which they raided is not mentioned.*484 Two other vīrgals from Mudaloda (Gauribidanūr taluk, Kōlār district) of c.AD 930 record the death of two śettis in a cattle raid. Neither the name of the raided settlement nor the place to which the śettis belonged is specified.*485 The Bēchirākh Jakkasandra inscription (Dodda Ballāpura taluk, Bangalore district) of the close of the tenth century records the death of Cabbi śetti the son of Dhalaga Kōvara Basava śetti in defence of the cattle of Kadalvāgilu which were being carried off by Karagadi Sandimalla.*486 An inscription from Medutambihalli (Kōlār taluk, district) of the early ninth century records the tying of a patta on the son of Balimindana śetti for his prowess in a cattle raid and the grant of five gulas of paddy land in some ūru (peasant settlement). The cattle raid was on Puttūr.*487 It is not quite clear whether the śetti was a raider or a defender.

However the term śetti is used to denote not only traders and bankers but also certain men practising industries such as oil pressing.*488 This is brought out by the Haralakunte vīrgal of AD 966 (Kōlār taluk)*489 which records the death of Gange śetti the son of Perundāli śetti of the Gāniga (oil millers)*490 community in a cattle raid by Kalasyare Panatiya.

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*483 Turuvan ikkisi in EC IX (old ed) Ht 110, Dv 42, DB 9; EC X (old ed) Mb 261, 203, Bp 48, Sd 59 etc. and "Turuvan magulci" in EC III (new ed) Gu 50; 171, Hg 98, 5; EC VII (new ed) Ng 128, Ml 147 etc. are the usual terms indicating death in defence of cattle.

*484 EC VIII (old ed) Sb 385,386. *485 EC X (old ed) Gd 85,86

*486 EC IX (old ed) DB 9. *487 EC X (old ed) Kl 233. *488F.Kittel, .cit.,q.v.,śetti.

*489 EC X (old ed) Kl 245 *490 F.Kittel, op.cit.,q.v.Gāniga.

Gange śeṭṭi seems to be a defender. Thus although we have several references to śeṭṭis engaged in capturing or rescuing cattle only one such instance related unambiguously to traders. As the Kaṇatūru inscription bears witness, the title śeṭṭi could be conferred on gāvuṇḍas as well.*491 The Haraḷakuṇṭe vīrgal points to gāṇigas and men of other communities bearing this title. It is unclear whether the many instances of śeṭṭis which have been cited above really related to traders or to men of other occupations.

The Cīvali inscription (T.Narsipur taluk, Mysore district) of the tenth century is the first available record to refer to the possession of cattle by artisans. The wording of the record is ambiguous but it seems to register the rescue of the cattle of Jōbācāri and Dāsimācāri of Kalkuṇi by Gavaṟe ācāri. No cattle raid is specifically mentioned.*492 The other record comes from Koḍakaṇi (Sōrab taluk, Shimoga district) and is dated AD 1015.*493 It appears to record a cattle raid (tuṟu pariye) by the servants (?pari)*494 of Caṭṭayya dēva. The cattle were rescued by Arjuna Kammāṟa (a blacksmith).*495 A grant of sixty kammas(a land measure)*496 of land was made in his memory, while his son Caṭṭōja set up the memorial stone. An ōja is an artificer-a carpenter, blacksmith or goldsmith.*497 Here it probably stands for a blacksmith.

The evidence reviewed so far would indicate that cattle raids were a frequent occurrence throughout the area under study. The surprising exception is the Chikmagalur district which does not yield a single reference to cattle raids. In most cases these were purely local events with the inhabitants of a village lifting the cattle of a neighbouring settlement. In others we have tribals making inroads to settled tracts to carry off their cattle.

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*491 EC VIII (old ed) Al 8, supra,p 72 ,fn 453

*492 EC V (new ed)TN 294.ll 5-11 "Kalkuṇiya Jōbācāriya Dāsimācāriya tuṟu Gavaṟe ācāri tuṟuva...."

*493 EC VIII (old ed) Sb 16.

*494 "Pari" by itself does not make sense in this context.Here it probably stands for parikara-attendants or retinue;F.Kittel, op.cit.,q.v.pari,parikara.

*495 Ibid, q.v.kammāṟa.

Cattle raid hero stones certainly point on the one hand to the prevalent militarism and lawlessness of the age.*498 But they also indicate the importance of the pastoral elements in the economy of the region. Cattle must have been sufficiently valuable economic assets for the gāvuṇḍas, śeṭṭis and ācāris to have risked life and limb to increase their livestock by capturing the herds of the neighbouring village or to defend the cattle of their own. Kōlār district yields three references to the capture of buffaloes as well.*499 This is not to deny that in many cases cattle raids served as a provocation to war or the opening gambit in a battle as we have seen above. That cattle were valuable economic assets is also indicated by references to taxes on clarified butter (tuppadeṟe). A ninth century inscription from Īśvarahaḷḷi (Chikmagalur taluk, district) records the remission of the tolls on clarified butter in perpetuity (tuppaman ellakālakkam biṭṭam). There is a reference to bāṇiga bāḷiga in the inscription, which R.Shama Sastry interpreted as a group of merchants to whom remission was granted.*500 Similarly, the Kuñce inscription (Hoḷe Narsipur taluk, Hāssan district) records the grant to the Mahājanas of Kuñce of the income from the taxes on clarified butter (tuppadeṟe)*501 A tax on clarified butter is also mentioned in the Kumsi inscription (Sorab taluk) of AD 931. The context is unclear, however, since the inscription is fragmentary. In addition to the tax on clarified butter the record registers grants of land.*502 The Chittavaḷḷi temple was possibly granted imposts on clarified butter along with villages in an inscription dated AD 1025 (Chikmagalur taluk, district).*503

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*496 D.C.Sircar,I.E.G.q.v.kamma - A land measure equal to a hundredth of a mattar or nivarttana.

*497 F.Kittel, op.cit.,q.v.oja .

*498 S.Settar and M.M.Kalaburgi,op.cit.,p.28.

*499 ASMAR 1930,No.12, p 137; EC X (old ed)Bp 47 and Sd 39.

*500 ASMAR 1922-23,No.4, p.40.

*501 EC VIII (new ed) HN 97. of c.AD 873.

*502 EC VIII (old ed) Sb 83.

*503 EC VI (old ed) Cm 95, l 17-18 refers to śoppa which was possibly an orthographical mistake for tuppa.

The Kyātanahaḷḷi inscription (Pāṇḍavapura taluk, Maṇḍya district) assignable to the close of the ninth century or the beginning of the tenth century AD records a grant in kind of a sollage of white rice (beḷiyakki) and of clarified butter (tuppa) for Kella basadi in addition to forced labour (biṭṭi).*504

Apart from taxes on clarified butter and its grant in kind an inscription of the seventh century from Kigga (Koppa taluk, Chikmagalur district) records the grants of taxes (vari) in kind of paddy and cow's milk (Kavileya pālu) to a temple at Kiḷga.*505 Another seventh century record from Kigga registers the grant of cows and land also for a temple at Kilga (gō maṇṇu)*506 Similarly, the Hebbaṭa inscription (Śrīnivāspur taluk, Kōlār district) of c.AD 900 records the grant of good quality (aggaḷa) cows (tuṟu) to a hero who apparently perished in defence of the cattle of Perbhaṭa (Modern Hebbaṭa) by the gurava (Śaiva monk) Bhāvaśiva who was ruling the kingdom of tapas.*507

The evidence available for our region, of the existence of large herds, of frequent cattle raids undertaken particularly by the gāvuṇḍas references to cowherds and shepherds, and finally of taxes and imposts on milk and milk products would argue for the vital role played by pastoralism in the economy of the region. This, in part, was a product of the geography of the region. The availability of abundant pasturage for cattle and sheep as well as large acreages of uncultivable lands contributed to the importance of cattle and sheep rearing. While the construction of tanks did win more lands for agriculture, at no time did agriculture altogether dominate and outstrip cattle rearing at least during the period under study. Mixed farming did prevail, however, as we shall see below.

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*504 EC VI (new ed) Ppu 16.

*505 EC VI (old ed) Kp 37.

*506 Ibid, Kp 39.

*507 EC X (old ed) Sp 29.

(III) EVIDENCE FOR MIXED FARMING:

We have cited several instances of land being granted together with cattle herds as well as lands being granted for heroes who fought and perished in a cattle raid. Thus, for instance, the eighth century Hulikunda virgal (Bowringpet taluk, Kōlār district) records the grant of four gulas of paddy land (kalani) for Nāgadēva who died in defence of cattle by Miligeyarasu and Attāṇi.*508 Kaliyaṇṇa whose death in a cattle raid is recorded in a ninth century inscription from Toremāvu (Nanjanagūḍ taluk,Mysore district) received five gulas of cultivable land at Maṇali.*509 Aṇilēya's son received five gulas of paddy land (kalani) and ten koḷas of aḍuvu (pasture?) for rescuing cattle (turuvan ikkisi) from Ajayapalla gorava.*510. Similarly, Kādigāvuṇḍa of Eraūr who died in defence of the cattle of his village received two hundred (ilmūru?) units of paddy land (bhattada mannu) at Sirivantagāla.*511 Likewise Ponnavayya who died fighting in a cattle raid (turugōl) received five gulas of land below the tank of his elder.*512 The gāvuṇḍa of Kūrgal who fell in a cattle raid (turugōl) received three gandugas of land as kalnāḍu from Ereyappa II Ganga.*513 Ipagoṇḍa who apparently rescued the cattle of Maravūr received four gandugas of wet land beside the stream (palla galde).*514

We have at least one instance of a village granted in appreciation of the valour exhibited in defence of cattle. This comes from the Iggali inscription of the ninth century (Nanjanagūḍ taluk) which registers the grant of Mādigeṛe as valita (estate) for Adhikāri gāvuṇḍa, Carama gāvuṇḍa and Śivaya gāvuṇḍa who protected the cattle of Iggaliyūr.*515

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*508 EC X (old ed) Bp 48. *509 EC III (new ed) Nj 180

*510 EC IX (old ed) Ht 110 of the end of the ninth century.

*511 EC III (new ed) Gu 171 of the tenth century.

*512 EC IV (new ed) Yl 14 of the tenth century.

*513 EC IV (new ed) Pp 28 of the close of the ninth or beginning of the tenth century.

*514 EC IV (new ed) Hs 5. of the eleventh century.

*515 EC III (new ed) Nj 205.

That the economy of the region was based on a combination of cattle rearing and agriculture is also borne out by the grants of land and villages by Kaṭakada gōva*516 Caṭṭayyadēva recorded in the Hecce inscription.*517 Similarly, Vīrapūrṇa, the watchman of the king's cattle in the Vaḍḍārādhane was granted ten cows from the king's herd and three thousand Khaṇḍugas of paddy as his perquisite. ("arasa...tanna gōmaṇḍaladoḷ agolliduvappa pattu payanumam mūsāsira gaṇḍuga bhattarumam pramāṇam māḍi koṭṭa").*518 The grants of taxes on land and two Khaṇḍugas of land to Kuṛimba gāvuṇḍa in the Basavaṭṭi inscription*519 reinforces the point.

Agriculture and cattle or sheep-rearing thus do not appear to have been mutually exclusive. We have no evidence for pastoral romads. It is possible that the tribals, the Bēḍas belonged to this category. But beyond their predatory cattle raids we have no evidence to support this contention.Derrett suggests that "they raised crops precariously wherever uneven ground and rare security permitted. They hunted beasts of the forest sold sandal and other timber to the merchants and often raided outlying farms and villages carrying off women, cows and draught cattle."*520 Among settled populations, agriculture and pastoralism went hand in hand. Cattle herds were possessed by the gāvuṇḍas, the upper stratum of the peasantry to judge from a reference to a gōsāsa gāvuṇḍa and from their frequent participation in cattle raids. Ownership of cattle herds was not restricted to the gāvuṇḍas. Artisans and merchants too possessed cattle and trade in cattle and milk products might perhaps be posited.

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*516 supra,section D(I)

*517 EC VIII (old ed) Sb 476.

*518 Vaḍḍārādhane op.cit.,p.66.

*519 EC IV (new ed) Ch 126.

*520 J.D.M.Derrett, op.cit.,p 9.

## SECTION E : URBAN CENTRES.

### (I) DEFINING URBANISM:

Definitions of urbanism usually specify a set of economic, social and morphological criteria, following Gordon Childe. Such criteria generally include a large population chiefly engaged in non-agricultural occupations particularly trade and mnaufacture, monumental buildings, a ruling elite drawing surplus from the countryside, and a bureaucracy. Urban centres also function as centres of exchange and consequently markets are a major characteristic in most definitions offered.*521

In other cases, morphological criteria are stressed. Bradley, in his study of urbanization in Anglo-Norman Ireland uses such features as walls, castles, bridges, cathedrals, etc., in addition to the holding of a market and possessing a street plan with houses and associated plots.*522 As Graham points out such a system leads to problems of weighting and arbitrary combination of disparate elements. Moreover, such systems of definition isolate the bigger urban centres but are ineffective at the lower end of the urban heirarchy, to which the majority of the settlements characterised as urban belonged, but where the small peasant town merged into the village. Graham thus stresses the rural-urban continuum and the fact that an element of intuition is inseparable from all schemes of definition.*523

Rodney Hilton too appears to lay stress on the rural-urban continuum. In his study of the West Midlands society in the thirteenth century, he describes a four-tier urban hierarchy. This ranges from London with a large population of about 50,000 and its participation in international trade; to provincial capitals such as York and Bristol with populations in the range of 10,000 to 20,000; to country towns, port and textile towns

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*521 Harold Carter, An Introduction to Urban Historical Geography, London,(1983), Pp 8-9.

*522 Cited in Brian J Graham, "Urbanization in Early Medieval Ireland; AD 900-1300" in the Journal of Urban History, Vol 13, No.2 (February 1987), p 174.

*523 Ibid, p 175.

such as Beverley and Coventry with populations in the range of 2000 to 4000 and finally on the lowest rung, a large number of small market towns which served as an outlet for agricultural producers to sell their grain, livestock and dairy produce and buy manufactured goods in metal, textiles and other products. Many of these market towns were indistinguishable from large villages.*524 However, at the same time he says that "the primary, real meaning of urban status,the separation from the rural hinter land" lay in "the specialization in non-agricultural occupations, the presence of merchants and artisans and...the existence of a market."*525

The same emphasis on the presence of crafts and money-based exchange as the principal characteristics of urban centres is found in R.S.Sharma's work on urban decay in the early medieval period. In his opinion, while the agrarian surplus derived from the hinterland is vital for the town's existence, merely a settlement of non-agriculturists cannot be regarded as an urban centre.*526 To this effect he cites evidence from Mayamata and Mānasāra, texts on architecture which define a nigama as inhabited by people of all classes and numerous artisans. Similarly, Kaiyaṭa, an eleventh century grammarian is quoted to the effect that a nagara was considered to be a settlement surrounded by a wall and a moat and marked by the prevalence of the laws and customs of the guilds of artisans and merchants.*527 It is interesting to note that Sri Lankan sources of the ancient period also defined a city as a settlement characterized by the twin features of circumvallation and commerce. Commercial centres without protective circumvallation were not considered cities but merely called commercial villages (nigama) or settlements of merchants (Vaṇijagāma)*528

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*524 R.H.Hilton, op.cit., P.168. *525 Ibid, P 169.

*526 R.S.Sharma, Urban Decay in India, AD 300-AD 1000, New Delhi, 1987, p.5.

*527 Ibid.

*528 R.A.L.H.Gunawardana, "Anurādhapura: ritual power and resistance in a precolonial South Asian City" in D.Miller, M.Rowlands and C.Tilley (ed) Domination and Resistance, London, 1989, p.158.

In contrast to Sharma, G.Erdosy considers the administrative function of urban centres as of primary importance. He defines urban centres as "the containers of those institutions that are required for the maintenance of increasingly complex and inegalitarian societies." Consequently, as urbanization proceeds apace, institutions of social control are aggregated in a restricted number of settlements. This facilitates their supervision and control by the emerging ruling elite of soceity.*529 The earliest urban centres, in his opinion, did not differ much from the villages; what characterized them as urban centres was their ability to attract the surplus of the producers of the hinterland. After considerable accumulation of resources over time they came, in his opinion, to assume a more durable monumental aspect with diverse functions-economic and ideological in addition to the administrative. Thus, mature urban centres are characterized by difference in function according to the predominance of one of the three aspects. Over time, most tend to develop an increasingly economic bias and become the pivots of a redistributive economic system. He thus tends to distinguish*530 the early "ceremonial centre" from the mature urban centre.

While Carter too envisages a link between the emergence of the urban centre and the territorial, class based state, he views an urban centre as "a form of social organization based on occupational specialization and social stratification of a territorially based population which has acquired a formal corporate identity."*531 This is vague since the nature of occupational specialization is not specified. The definition could as well be applied to many a rural settlement in early medieval Southern Karnataka which had "formal corporate identity" as well.*532

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*529 G.Erdosy, Urbanization in Early Historic India, Bar International series, No.430, Oxford ,1988. P.5.

*530 Idem, "Origin of cities in the Ganges Valley" in JESHO, Vol.28, No.1, (1985), p. 88-89.

*531 H.Carter, op.cit., p 3.

*532 Supra, Section B,p.25-26

A general comprehensive definition is offered by A.Ghosh. He suggests that the distinctive features of urban centres were "a population denser than in the rural areas and settled in a restricted area; only a limited part of its area, if at all, is utilized for agricultural purposes; a population predominantly non-agricultural in occupation and dependent on rural areas for supplies of food and raw materials which necessitates the presence of merchants to supply citizens with the necessities of life."*533 He suggests that urban centres may have specialized functions some being merely political or administrative centres, other centres of trade and commerce and still others religious centres.

Gunawardana in his study of Anurādhapura points out that this city combined all these functions. In addition to being a political centre it was a city of monasteries and as a result, a centre of religious and intellectual activity. It was the centre of ritual for the entire island. At the same time the city was also an institutional expression of the power of the king and the ruling elite as a whole, with its separation of zones, fortifications; impressive residences within the inner city and the massive gates. The city with its hinterland was also a model for irrigation development and agriculture based on higher technology. It was a seat of men with interests in irrigation property. This last feature, in Gunawardana's opinion sets apart Anurādhapura and similar cities of Asia from their counterparts in other parts of the world.*534 In the light of these definitions, we turn to the sources throwing light on urban centres in the region and period under study.

(II) DESCRIPTIONS OF TOWNS IN LITERARY WORKS:

Kannaḍa literary works of the tenth century give fairly stereotyped descriptions of towns (poḻal). In most cases they commence by setting the town in the country to which it belonged. Thus most stories and substories of the Vaḍḍārādhane commence in the set form: "In this Jambūdvīpa's Bharata Kṣētra, in the country (nāḍ) named (for instance) Puravardhana, there is a town (poḻal) named Kauṇḍini nagara which is ruled by..."*535

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*533 A.Ghosh, The City in Early Historical India, Simla 1973,p.18.

*534 R.A.L.H.Gunawardana, op.cit.,Pp 175-176.

*535 Vaḍḍārādhane op.cit.,p.117.

Similarly,Pampa sets Hastināpura in the nāḍu or viṣaya known as Kurujāngaṇa which is first described, before Hastināpura "the capital (rājadhāni), a moon in the locks of Hara, i.e.,the kingdom of Kurujāngaṇa" *536 is described.

The salient features of Hastināpura seem to have been the artificial hills of gold (Kanaka krataka girigaḷ), gardens filled with fruit-laden trees and creepers, and numerous ponds in the outer part of the town (porapoḷal), streets filled with elephants and horses, in the inner part of the town (oḷage) surrounded by walls of gold (Kanakaśāladim), temples, the shops of merchants rivalling the house of Kubēra himself ('Dhanada bhavanam enipa siriya baccarapaṇamgaḷim'), the prostitutes street (sūlegēri) and the royal palaces (bhūmipāla bhavana) and treasury filled with all wares (samasta vastu bhuvana)*537 The description of Ēkacakrapura follows along the same lines but with certain differences. In the first place, it is not described as the capital of any kingdom. It appears to have been an urban centre on a lower rung of the urban hierarchy. In addition to artificial hills (kṛtaka giri) and gardens (nandana) we have a reference to paddy fields as well (gandha śāli). Within the fort (koṇṭeyoḷ) protected by a wide trench ('jaladhiyenipagaḷa nīlpa') were situated various temples (dēvagṛha), shops filled with precious stones ('pañcaratunadoḷe neṛeda pasara'), and merchants (parada) surpassing Kubera himself.*538 The total lack of reference to the palace and treasury would support the contention that Ēkacakrapura was primarily a religious and commercial centre and not a politico-administrative centre.

Systematic descriptions of this kind are not available for other towns mentioned in this work. Varanavata is designated a town (poḷalu) as well, but it is not described save for a general verse denoting its prosperity. The houses were washed with water perfumed with musk (Kattūriya sagaṇa nīr), decorated with designs made with pearls (biḍu muttina rangavaḷḷi) and silken flags (dugulada guḍi).*539 It is possible that, we have here an urban centre barely distinguishable from a village.

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*536 Pampa Bharata I. 51, vacana.

*537 Ibid, I. 58.

*538 Ibid, III. 22.

*539 Ibid, III. 2.

Although Dvāraka too is not described systematically the references to palaces,*540 to streets through which the procession passed*541 and finally to the sulegēri*542 would place the city on par with Hastināpura.

References to towns abound in the Vaddārādhane, but systematic descriptions such as the Pampa Bhārata affords are not available. However,the salient features of a town are briefly enumerated in the story of Bhadrabāhu bhaṭāra wherein Candragupta perceives the magical city within the forest. This had majestic buildings and storied houses ('dhavalarangagaḷum neḷeya māḍamgaḷum'), temples (dēvālaya), a sūlegēri, and streets filled with men, elephants and horses.*543 In the story of Vidyuccōra we have references to the palace, to the houses of diamond merchants (baccara), cloth merchants (dūsigar), officials (niyōgi), feudatories (sāmanta) and courtesans (sūḷe). The courtesans' corner (sūlegēri) is also mentioned.*544 The Vaḍḍārādhane also refers to the grain market in the city to which the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages came to sell their grain in story of Sukumārasvāmi, in the description of the elaborate fraud undertaken by Vaināyaka and his confederates. They used false measures and stored the stolen grain in a subterranean apartment (nelamane). Their deception was detected by the ūrgāmuṇḍa of Kauśala who came to Campānagara to sell paddy (bhatta)*545

The Vaḍḍārādhane refers to the whole range of settlement categories-grāma, nagara, khēḍa, kharvaḍa, madamba, paṭṭana and droṇāmukha, in describing the peregrinations of the Jaina monks. This is a formulaic reference, occurring each time a Jaina monk or nun is mentioned.*546 These terms are probably reflections of an earlier period of urban afflorescence. As Erdosy points out terms for urban settlements proliferate in the sources of the Mauryan period and thereafter.

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*540 Ibid, IV.38 vacana, IV 49, vacana.

*541 Ibid, IV. 35-38

*542 Ibid, IV. 79 vacana and 80-110

*543 Vaḍḍārādhane,op.cit.,p 133.

*544 Ibid, p 166-167.

*545 Ibid, p 64.

*546 Ibid, p 51,53,71, etc.

He suggests that such terms can now be classified as administrative or economic centres although the two functions were often combined as in the fortified towns described in the Arthaśāstra. Among terms for administrative centres, Erdosy includes dronamukha and Kharvatika while paṭṭaṇa together with Paṇyapuṭabhēdana (inland trading post) and nigama (trading centre) are included in the second category.*547

Thus descriptions of towns in the Pampa Bhārata seem to indicate a functional specialization with Hastināpura and Dvāraka being primarily seats of political authority. References to merchants and their shops are available even for such centres. Ēkacakrapura seems to be an economic centre only. The reference to paddy fields in the outer parts of the town is also significant. This brings to mind Gunawardana's characterization of Anurādhapura and other Asian cities as seats of individuals with interest in irrigation development as a result of which the city's hinterland became a model for the development of agriculture and irrigation. The inner part of the city was probably walled in and fortified in both cases. The difference between the two lies principally in the lack of reference to palaces at Ēkacakrapura. Vāraṇāvata though termed a town is not described and seems hardly distinguishable from a village.*548

The Vaḍḍārādhane records many features of urbanism. The monumental aspect of the city with its palaces of the royalty, feudatories and of merchants is much emphasized. Apart from this we have specific references to occupational specialization, to diamond dealers and cloth merchants for instance. We also have clear indications of the mobilization of the surplus of the rural hinterland in the reference to the grain market to which rural producers brought their product for sale. The same conclusion can be drawn from the Pampa Bhārata's reference to the treasury at Hastināpura.

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*547 G.Erdosy, "Origin of cities in the Ganga valley", loc.cit.,p.92

*548 We do not have references to merchants or artisans. On the other hand its rural character is equally unclear for there is no indication that the inhabitants were chiefly engaged in agriculture.

Many of the details provided by literary works are purely fanciful. The artificial hills of gold and golden walls at Hastinapura are obviously imaginary. References to palaces of seven storeys or more in the Vaddāradhane may be similarly dismissed.

Although we have references to houses and palaces in literary works, no clear picture of the street layout emerges. The only street or locality repeatedly mentioned is the sūlegēri. Although it is said to be frequented by the towns folk, (purajana vita)*549, the courtesans appear to be part of the royal household (pendavāsada sūle)*550 and we also have references to courtesans, repairing to the royal palace.*551

(III) EPIGRAPHIC REFERENCES TO URBAN CENTRES:

Distinguishing urban centres in epigraphic references is rendered difficult by the fact that settlement details are rather scanty. Often urban centres can be distinguished only from the term used for it. This is the case, for instance with Kirumundaniri nagara mentioned in the Keregalūr plates of Mādhava II (Talakād branch) of the fifth century (Hāssan taluk,district).*552 One-tenth share (bhāga) of this settlement included within Dēvalige viṣaya was granted to brāhmanas.*553 The term nagara applied to Kirumundaniri is clearly distinguished from grāma which is used for five villages in Vallāvi viṣaya which were also granted as brahmadēya.*554 It is unclear whether the one-tenth share related to taxes and, if so, whether the taxes were levied in kind or in cash.*555 The Keregalūr copper plates also record the foundation of Sangamapura in Sēndraka viṣaya by the king (Sēndraka viṣaye Samgamapuram sthāpayitvā).*556

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*549 Pampa Bhārata, I.58,IV.79 vacana.

*550 Vaddāradhane, op.cit.,p 124; Pampa Bhārata III.48 vacana.

*551 Pampa Bhārata IV.49 vacana.

*552 EC VIII (new ed) Hn 10 *553 Ibid, l.19. *554 Ibid, l. 18.

*555 N.Karashima suggests in his study of village communities that settlements, for which revenue was assessed in cash only, were probably urban in character;op.cit.,p.53.

*556 EC VIII (new ed) Hn 10, l 15.

The urban character of this settlement is even more unclear than in the case of Kirumuṇḍanīri nagara. It is restricted to the use of the term pura which is generally applicable to towns. There are references in the Keregalur plates to the Maṇigrāma śreṇi*557 (probably the itinerant trade guild of that name) as also to the Tuviyāl śreṣṭhi group.*558 Both the Maṇigrāma śreṇi and the Tuviyāl śreṣṭhi figure among the witnesses and point to the existence of trade in this period. The two guilds are however not clearly associated with the urban centres.

The Mysore copper plates of the fifth century refer in passing to Girinagara. It was situated to the south of Kaṇḍasāla grāma which was granted as brahmadēya by Mādhava I Ganga. Here apart from the nagara suffix we have no positive proof for the urban character of this settlement.*559 Another fifth century reference to an urban centre comes from the Birūr copper plates of Viṣṇuvarma Kadamba.*560 This mentions Vaijayanti, the ornament of Karṇāṭa dēśa and adorned with eighteen maṇḍapikas. These were probably customes houses where tolls were levied on incoming goods.*561 This would indicate that Vaijayanti (or Banavāsi) was a major trade centre in the fifth century.

Banavāsi was a settlement dating back to the Śātavāhana period. Excavations reveal it to have been a fortified settlement. It remained under occupation even under the Kadambas whose capital it was, as the Birūr copper plates so clearly state.*562 Banavāsi retained its importance throughout the early medieval period. The Sorab copper plates of Vinayāditya Cāḷukya refers to Banavāsi and its nagara - the corporate body, which figured among the witnesses to the grant of Sālivoge grāma situated to the north-east of Banavāsi nagara to a brāhmaṇa by the monarch.*563

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*557 Ibid, 1.21 *558 Ibid, 1.28

*559 EC V (new ed) My 103.*560 EC VI (old ed) Kd 162, ll 10-11

*561 D.C.Sircar, I.E.G., q.v. Maṇḍapika. Also vide B.D.Chattopadhyaya, "Trade and Urban centres in Early Medieval North India" in Indian Historical Review, (henceforth IHR), Vol.I, No.2 (Sep.1974) pp.203-19.

*562 R.S.Sharma Urban Decay, loc.cit, p.86 *563 EC VIII (old ed) Sb 571.

A supplementary grant however records that Sālivoge was given to one Dēvēri, the son of Śāntapa by Basanta kumāra the son-in-law (aḷiya) of Āneśeṭi (śeṭṭi?) of Banavāsi.*564 In spite of the confusion created by the double grant the urban character of Banavāsi emerges clearly enough from this record of AD 692. The term nagara is used both as a terminological suffix and for the corporate body of Banavāsi. Apart from this the reference to the śeṭṭi (a merchant?) would appear to satisfy every criterion for defining a town.

That Banavāsi was a fortified settlement is clear not only from excavations but also from the epigraphic record. The Guduve vīrgals of AD 1030 which register deaths in a cattle raid mention the fort (kōṭe) of Banavāsi.*565 Banavāsi continued to be the capital of the Banavāsi nāḍ-12000. Although the feudatories ruling this unit changed fairly rapidly,*566 the political importance of Banavāsi did not diminish. It was apparently recognized as a kaṭaka (camp or capital).*567 as the Hecce inscription of AD 939 would show.*568 In contrast to the other urban centres dating back to the fifth century, Banavāsi continued to exist as an urban centre throughout the early medieval period. It retained at least its political role. We have no clear evidence to prove that it was an economic centre after the seventh century.

On the other hand, Kōlār or Kuvaḷāla, the earliest centre of power of the Gangas does not show any signs of its urban character initially. The Chaluvanahaḷḷi plates of Mādhava II (Talakāḍ branch) of the fifth century register the grant of three pieces of wet land below the tank at Kuvalāla.*569 Even the suffixes of nagara or pura are not applied here. Kuvalāla cannot be distinguished from a rural settlement at this stage. By the seventh century, Kuvaḷāla or Kōlāla came to acquire the suffix of pura. The Bēdirūr Grant charter of Bhūvikrama of AD 634 was issued from Kōlālapura and registers the grant of Bēdirūr village in Hodaḷi viṣaya to Vikramāditya gāvuṇḍa the lord of Kōlāla viṣaya.*570 But apart from the pura suffix and the fact that Kōlāla was the capital of the viṣaya by the same name, we have no other evidence to support its urban character.

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*564 Ibid, ll 27-30 *565 EC VIII (old ed) Sb 60,61,62. *566Supra, Section B, pp 16-17
*567 Supra, section D, p 71, fn.439 *568 EC VIII (old ed) Sb 476.
*569 K.V.Ramesh,op.cit.,No.157. *570 Ibid, No.29.

Throughout the ninth and tenth centuries lithic inscriptions styled the Ganga kings "the boon lord of Kuvaḷālapura" (Kuvaḷālapuravarēśvara)*571 in token of their ancient association with the area. At this time the Gangas do not appear to have exercised effective control over this region. We have no evidence as to the development of the settlement from our records.

Cōḷa records from Kōlār attest to the fact that by AD 1000 at least Kōlār had become a religious centre. The Kōlāramma temple and its associated shrines belong either to the late Ganga period or were constructed by the Cōḷas.*572 The temple received the grant of the village Aṟaiyūr in the same nāḍu with all exemptions (sarvabādhāparihāra) in AD 1006-7.*573 Another inscription records the grant of the village Paśaipāl in Kuvaḷāla nāḍu for the goddess Piḍāriyar (Kōlāramma) at Kuvaḷāla.*574 A third record, dated c.AD 1024 registers the grant of Pākkam....in Kuvaḷāla nāḍu*575 while an inscription of c.AD 1028 records the grant of Piragampaḷḷi. All these donations resulted in the temple of Kōlāramma at Kōlār accumulating a vast agrarian surplus drawn from the villages of the nāḍu. If the ability to attract the surplus of the rural hinterland is the major criterion for distinguishing an urban centre then Kōlār would qualify as one at least in the early eleventh century. But we have no evidence of the presence of artisans and mechants there.

Taṟekāḍ or Taḷavaṉanagara situated on the left bank of the Kāvēri (T.Narsipur taluk, Mysore district) was an urban centre which probably started off as a seat of political authority. The earliest nucleus of Ganga power in the western region (comprising the modern districts of Mysore,Mandya,Hassan,Coorg,Chikmagalur and Shimoga) was established in this area by Harivarma Ganga.*576

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*571 EC X (old ed) Kl 79; Gd 4, ASMAR 1925,No.86, pp 74-75 etc.

*572 ASMAR 1935, pp 44 ff.

*573 EC X (old ed) Kl 106 (b)

*574 Ibid, Kl 112 (a).

*575 Ibid, Kl 106 (c)

*576 Infra Chapter III, Section B.

The Kūḍlūr plates of Harivarma although dated in the Śaka (?) year 188 is ascribable to the ninth century. This refers to the king residing at Taḷavanapura.*577 There is no reference to a Vijayaskandhāvāra as in the case of the Haḷḷegere copper plates of Śivamāra I dated AD 713-14 which record the grant of Pallavataṭāka a newly constituted village by the king as a brahmadēya while he was residing at the victorious camp at Taḷavanapura.*578 Apart from the suffix pura applied to it we have no other evidence for the urban character of the settlement.

An inscription from Talakāḍ of AD 725 of Śrīpuruṣa Ganga's reign refers to the settlement as Taṟekāḍ and apparently registers the grant of a hamlet (paḷḷil viṭṭu) to the Twentyfive of Taṟekāḍ ('Taṟekāḍa ippattayvarkkam') at the request of Sindarasar, Devasatti arasa and Manasija by Arakēśi, the son of Paramagūḷa.*579 This record gives us no clue whatsoever to its urban character. No terminological suffix is present. We have no indication that the Twenty-five were a mercantile or artisanal guild. It possibly was a royal residence going by the reference to numerous chieftains, but this is not specifically stated. Its urban character is to be deduced merely from the suffix of pura given to it in the Haḷḷegere copper plates. Assuming then, its urban status, the grant of a hamlet would indicate its control over the country side. A similar situation has been described for Gōpagiri by Chattopadhyaya.*580

The Dēvanur copper plates of Kambharāja Raṇāvalōka dated AD 808 gives us further details on Taḷakāḍ. They record the grant of Badaṇeguppe village for Vijaya Vasati (a Jinālaya) consecrated at Taḷavananagara. The grant was made by Kambha at the request of Śankaragaṇṇa, his son while he was residing at the victorious camp at Taḷavaṇanagara.*581 This record reaffirms the status of Taḷavaṇanagara as a royal centre.

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*577 K.V.Ramesh,op.cit.,No.4 l 14 "Taḷavaṇapuram adhivasati".

*578 EC VII (new ed) Md 35,l.35 "Taḷavaṇapuram adhivasati Vijayaskandhāvāre".

*579 EC V (new ed) TN 207.

*580 B.D.Chattopadhyaya, "Trade and Urban centres....." loc.cit.,p.210

*581 EC III (new ed) Nj 278 ll.53-59.

Temples situated here began to receive grants of villages for their maintenance reinforcing the control exercised over the countryside by the urban centre and resulting in the accumulation of the surplus of the hinterland there. Similar evidence is presented by the spurious Mercara plates of Avinīta Ganga which once again records the grant of Badaṇeguppe village to the same Jaina shrine at Taḷavaṇanagara.*582 An additional grant of twelve Khaṇḍugas of land below Piriyakeṟe (tank) at Pogarigeḷe is also recorded in this inscription.*583

By the tenth century Taṟekāḍ appears to have had another corporate body, the Mahānagara apart from the Twenty-five. These two corporate groups, together with Paṭṭaṇavasantara Mañcayya invested some money (dravya) in a tank for which they received a bittuvāṭa.*584 The reference to the Mahānagara and to the official (?) Paṭṭaṇavasantara might possibly indicate that Taṟekāḍ had grown into a trading centre (paṭṭaṇa)*585 with the status of a Mahānagara. The cash investment possibly points in the same direction. The thrust of the record once more, is on control of the rural hinterland and involvement in agricultural development. We may recollect that Anurādhapura was likewise a seat of owners of irrigation property, a feature which Gunawardana opines was characteristic of South Asian cities generally.*586

In the Cōḷa period Taṟekāḍ came to be renamed Rājarājapuram. We have a solitary reference to it in a late tenth century record from Talakāḍ. Unfortunately the inscription is fragmentary and consequently the details of the gift registered therein are now lost. One of the signatories to the gift was an individual from Rājarājapuram.*587

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*582 EC I, (new ed) No.1. ll. 15-18. Also vide supra, section C.

*583 Ibid, ll. 20-22.

*584 EC V (new ed) TN 200 of AD 935.

*585 G.Erdosy, "Origin of cities.."loc.cit.,p.93 explains paṭṭaṇa as a port. Here perhaps it might be taken as an inland trading centre.

*586 R.A.L.H.Gunawardana, op.cit.,p 170,176.

*587 EC V (new ed) TN 169.

Evidence for the urban character of Tarekād, then, is to be drawn principally from the terminological suffix of pura or nagara. It appears to have been a site of Vijayaskandhāvāras in the eighth and ninth centuries. This by itself does not mean the settlement was urban. The Sorab copper plates mention that at the time of the grant, Vinayāditya Cāḷukya was residing at a Vijayaskandhāvāra situated at Citrasēḍu grāma in Toramara viṣaya.*588 Talakāḍ's status as an urban centre is therefore not derived from the presence of Vijayaskandhāvāras. We have evidence for a corporate body, the Twenty-five from the early eighth century while another body, the Mahānagara had come into existence by the tenth century. The composition of both these groups is unknown. Available evidence indicates their involvement not in commerce or manufacture but in agriculture and irrigation. Reference to the Mahānagara ot Taṛekāḍ might indicate that it had a position analogous to that of Kāñcimānagara. Kāñci owed its pre-eminence in this period to the fact that it was the seat of political authority, a religious centre with numerous Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava temples, and a centre of commerce and textile production.*589 The mānagara suffix probably relates to the last aspect, indicating that Kāñci stood at the apex of a network of exchange centres, the nagarams.*590 In the case of Taṛekāḍ, we have evidence to indicate that it was a royal centre (though not the only one) as well as a religious centre. References to Jaina shrines have already been cited. A survey of surviving temples at Talakāḍ suggests that the Pātāḷēśvara temple and some of the Pañcalingēśvara shrines date back to the tenth century, while the Maraḷēśvara temple is an early Cōḷa structure.*591 The grants to Jaina shrines were entrusted to Jaina monks. This may indicate the presence of Jaina monastic establishments here. We have no hard evidence to suggest that Taṛekāḍ was a commercial centre save the terms Mahānagara and paṭṭaṇa occurring in the tenth century record cited above.

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*588 EC VIII (old ed) Sb 571. of AD 692.

*589 R.Champakalakshmi, "Urbanization in Medieval Tamil Nadu" in R.Thapar, and S.Bhattacharya (ed) Situating Indian History, Delhi, 1986, p 44.

*590 Ibid, p 45. This is Hall's suggestion. Evidence for a systematic network is not available for the pre-tenth century period. Kanci owed its mānagara status to state sponsorship.

*591 ASMAR 1932, pp 14-15.

If then, an urban centre be taken, after Erdosy, as an administrative node garnering resources from the countryside, Tareka̅ḍ or Taḷavaṇanagara would qualify as one. If we emphasise trade and manufacture as a yardstick, Tareka̅ḍ's status is unclear. However the presence of the Mahānagara guild and the official Paṭṭaṇavasantara would support its identification as an urban centre.

Maṇṇe (Nelmangaḷa taluk, Bangalore district) was another settlement which developed into a royal centre in the eighth and ninth centuries. The Jāvaḷi plates of AD 750-51 which record the grant of Bēlpūr village are one of the earliest to mention Maṇṇe. Here it is described as a grāma which was the site of a vijayaskandhāvāra where the king was resident at the time of the grant.*592 However, the Koṇḍajji agrahāra plates which purportedly belong to the seventh (year ?) of Śrīpuruṣa assign Maṇṇe an urban status by referring to it as Mānyapura. Once again it was the site of the royal camp.*593 Unfortunately we are not told whether the grant is spurious or not. Assuming that it was genuine one would have to conclude that Maṇṇe was on the threshold of urbanization in the mid-eighth century and its status was not altogether clear.

All later references to Maṇṇe are unanimous is assigning it the status of a town. It was probably a favourite royal residence in the eighth century. Thus the Hōsūr plates of AD 762-63 were also issued from the Vijayaskandhāvāra situated at Mānyanagara.*594

While all references to Maṇṇe so far mentioned it merely as a site of a royal camp, the Maṇṇe plates of Yuvarāja Mārasimha, dated AD 798 indicates that it was developing into a religious centre in addition to being a royal residence. This charter records the construction of a Jaina shrine at Manyanagara by the sāmanta sēnādhipati Śrīvijaya and the grant of

(i) Kuṟuvakkūr village in Mānya viṣaya;

(ii) three Khandugas of paddy fields under the tank of Perjjāḍi;

(iii) three Khaṇḍugas of paddy fields under the tank of Balamangaḷa;

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*592 EC VI (old ed) Mg 36 *593 EC XVI (rev.ed) Gb 75.

*594 K.V.Ramesh, op.cit.,No.45.

(iv) one garden under the tank of Maṇṇeyalār (inhabitants of Maṇṇe ?); and

(v) six khaṇḍugas each under the Seregeṟe and Keregeṟe tanks.*595

Like Taṟekāḍ then Maṇṇe too was acquiring control over the rural hinterland through the temples situated within its precincts. Also significant is the reference to the tank of the Maṇṇeyalār. Does this refer to the corporate body of its inhabitants? We have no clear evidence to support this, but it is probable. If so, it would bear out Gunawardana's suggestion about the involvement of citizens in irrigation development.

Maṇṇe's continuing status as a royal residence is brought out by the Koṭṭimba charter which records the grant of Koṭṭimba grāma in Mānya viṣaya, Ālūr with its hamlet Vaydeüt in Kuṟuvāle viṣaya and of some lands below the tank of Paṟuvi in Paṟuvi viṣaya as a brahmadēya by Yuvarāja Mārasimha while he was residing at Mānyapura*596 It was apparently the administrative centre of Mānya viṣaya or Maṇṇe nāḍ-300. This unit is not only mentioned in the Koṭṭimba grant charter but also in the Maṇṇe plates of Rācamalla I of AD 828 which records the grant of Doḍḍavāḍi village as a dēvabhōga for the goddess Kiḷtabāḷeṟetti bhaṭāri at Doḍḍavāḍi in Mānya viṣaya.*597 The Mūḍlupāḷya inscription of AD 968 also mentions Maṇṇe nāḍ-300. The nāḷgāvuṇḍa of this unit, Gangagacca set up a temple Daḍigēśvara, in honour of his son Daḍiga who died in an attack on the village. Some lands were granted for the temple. Neither the location of the shrine nor the village to which Daḍiga belonged is specified.*598

The epigraphs mentioning Mānya viṣaya or Maṇṇe nāḍ-300 do not mention Maṇṇe or Mānyapura itself. The last available epigraphic reference to Maṇṇe itself comes from the Chikka Sārangi inscription (Tumkūr taluk,district) of AD 903. This would indicate that Maṇṇe was now under the control of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas since

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*595 EC IX (old ed) Nl 60.

*596 K.V.Ramesh, op.cit.,No.50. of AD 799.

*597 S.Settar, ASMAR 1910 - A study, Vol III, Dharwad 1976, No.4, pp 32-34.

*598 EC X (old ed) Ma 75.

Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa II's subordinate Pracaṇḍa daṇḍanāyaka Śrī Dāmapaiya was stationed at Maṇṇe as the Daṇḍanāyaka for the entire south. ('tenkaṇa diśāvarkkella daṇḍanāyakanāgi Maṇṇeyoḷ ire').*599 While the Chikka Sārangi inscription appears to attest to the continuing political importance of Maṇṇe its urban character is not clearly indicated herein.

Maṇṇe then emerged as an urban centre in the mid eighth century owing to continuing royal residence there. It was also the centre of a politico-geographical unit. By the end of the eighth century we have evidence for the existence of temples there. But apart from these and the use of the suffix pura we have no definite evidence to indicate its urban character. After the ninth century even the use of the suffix pura appears to have been discontinued leaving us uncertain of the character of Maṇṇe.

Situated on the right bank of a tributary of Vēdāvati river, Āsandi was the central settlement of Āsandi nāḍ from the eighth century onwards.*600 An eighth century record from Āsandi records that the nāḍ was being ruled by Vijayāditya a son of Śrīpuruṣa, while his servant (āḷ), Ēṟamma ruled Āsandi from Channavūr. Ēṟamma set up a twining fence ('orvaḷḷa ney niṟisida') around Āsandi at the request of the Fifty-two (Ayvadimbar), the nakara and the śēṇi (śrēṇi?)*601 Like Taṟekāḍ, thus, Āsandi had two corporate bodies-the Fifty-two and the nakara. In addition, the presence of a guild śēṇi (śrēṇi?) is also attested to. The term nakara possibly indicates that Āsandi served as the marketing centre of the nāḍu as suggested by Hall for Tamil Nāḍu.*602

By the tenth century Āsandi appears to have developed into a religious centre as well. A tenth century niṣidhi record from Siddagānahaḷḷi (a neighbouring village) records the death of a Jaina nun of the Navilūr gaṇa,by the adoption of a ritual vow, at Āsandi's Mūlasthāna basadi.*603

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*599 EC XVI (rev.ed) TM 78. *600 Vide Appendix I, Nos. 122 - 125

*601 EC VI (old ed) Kd 145.

*602 K.R.Hall, Trade and statecraft in the Age of the Cōḷas, New Delhi, 1980, p 87 ff.

*603 EC VI (old ed) Kd 159

The pitfalls of the evidence provided by terminological suffixes is indicated by inscriptions from Vijayapura (T.Narsipur taluk, Mysore district). A ninth century record registers the payment of some gold (pon) for the legal settlement of tenants (okkal). The gold was given to the Twelve of Kiṟupēlnagara (modern Vijayapura). Apart from the settlement of tenants the inscription records the grant of twentyfive Khaṇḍugas of land and the sluice of a tank (dharma tūmbu).*604 In spite of the cash transaction, the presence of a corporate body and the suffix nagara, we get the impression that the settlement was chiefly agricultural. It is possible that the nagara suffix indicates the presence of a marketing centre here. It is also possible that the nagara formed an enclave within the predominantly agrarian site as was the case with Manalūr and its suburb Nigarili śōḷapuram in the Cōḷa period. * 604 (a)

An early eleventh century inscription this place refers to the houses of gāvuṇḍas and pergaḍes as well as a land grant for developing a flower garden.*605 Referring back to the descriptions of urban centres in literary works the details available from this record do not preclude the urban status of Kiṟupēlnagara.

An inscription from Kumasi (Shimoga taluk,district) of AD 950 refers to Kombasipolalu. Polalu is a term for town most often used in literary works of the period. The present inscription records the construction of a Jaina shrine (Jinagēha) by Lokkiyabbe of Pombuccha at Kombaśi poḷalu. It also registers several grants for Jinābhiṣēka by gauḍas and śeṭṭis, of camphor (?ghanavanna) and conchshell (?kambuka).*606 From these details it would appear that Kombaśi was a commercial and religious centre.

A royal centre, Rājapoḷala situated in Māgali nāḍ is mentioned in an inscription from Āraṇi (Nāgamangaḷa taluk, Maṇḍya district) of AD 972 as the residence of the Ganga king Nōḷambakulāntaka Mārasimha II.*607 No further details of the town are available.

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*604 EC V (new ed) TN 146.
* 604 (a) Vide Appendix II Nos. 110 - 112
*605 EC V (new ed) TN 142
*606 EC VII (old ed) Sh 114.

Another royal residence is mentioned in the Bāragūr inscription (Sira taluk, Tumkur district) of AD 878. This records that Mahendrādhirāja of the Nōḷamba lineage had encamped at Bāragūr ('bīḍu biṭṭalli').*608 Being a staunch Saiva (parama Māyēśvara) he offered his own palace ('tanna aramaneyane nivēdisi') for the establishment of a Śiva temple named Mahendrēśvara after him, at Bāragūr.*609 While the phrase bīḍu biṭṭalli used in the inscription would imply that the Nōḷamba's presence there was temporary, the existence of a palace there would indicate a greater degree of permanence. The inscription goes on to record the grant of Nāndūr in Sire nāḍ for the maintenance and conduct of worship at the temple. The grant was entrusted to Dinakara Sōmabhaṭārar of Gauhagōtra. All this would indicate that Bāragūr, initially a royal centre was becoming transformed into a religious centre with a temple and monastic complex. An inscription from Hēmāvati of the same period refers once more to Bāragūr as the site of royal encampment and goes on to state that Bāragūr was the fief of his queen Bija (ya) mahādēvī. Some land at Bāragūr were granted to a shrine, possibly a basadi, whose location is not specified.*610

A third inscription from Bāragūr again stresses its character as a religious centre. This record dated AD 919 from Bāragūr registers grants for two temples at the Mūlasthāna of Bāragūr which were entrusted to Vimalamati bhaṭārar of the eastern (mūḍaṇa) maṭha (monastery). The grants consisted of thirty guḷas of wet land below the Piriyakeṟe (tank) and the temple (dēgula) at Bāragūr itself. We also have a reference to Muḷtadakeṟe (tank) in the south-western part of Bāragūr which was constructed by Nāraṇabbe the mother of queen Nāgiyabbe.*611

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*607 EC VII (new ed) Ng 99.

*608 F.Kittel, op.cit.,q.v.bīḍu - a halting place, a habitation an abode, a residence; Bīḍu biḍu - to encamp.

*609 EC XII (old ed) Si 38.

*610 EC XII (old ed) Si 24 of c. AD 880.

*611 Ibid, Si 39 of AD 919.

Available evidence then indicates that Bāragūr was developing into a religious centre of some importance by the tenth century. It possibly continued to be the site of a palace complex as well. The tenth century inscription from Bāragūr shows that irrigation works and cultivable lands existed within the bounds of the settlement. We have no evidence whatsoever for the presence of mercantile or artiṣanal groups there. Its urban character is therefore in doubt.

The growth of trade and commerce in the Cōḷa period led to the emergence of new urban centres. Māyilangai (Taḍimālingi, T.Narsipur taluk, Mysore district) is a case in point. A record of the reign of Rājarāja I indicates its rural character registering the sale of dry and wet lands in the village, for the temple of Iravikulamāṇikka viṇṇagar āḷvār situated there, by the gāvuṇḍas.*612 By the fourth regnal year of Rājēndra I Māyilangai was designated as Jananāthapuram. An inscription of that year (AD 1015-16)*613 registers the gift of two māḍai (a gold coin)*614 for the celebration of a festival, for the same deity. The cash grant was entrusted to the nagarattār of Jananāthapuram, who undertook to supply three piḍis of oil daily for the temple. A similar grant is registered in another inscription of Rājēndra I's tenth regnal year. A gift of ten Kaḷañjus of gold was entrusted to the nagarattār who were to supply paddy daily to the person rearing the flower garden of the temple out of the interest on the gold.*615 Cash transactions had become common even earlier as the Talakāḍ and Vijayapura records testify. Even the Taḍimālingi inscription of Rājarāja I records the sale of lands worth a hundred kaḷañjus of gold. With the emergence of the nagaram of Jananāthapuram, the nagarattār (members of the nagaram) appear to have replaced the gāmuṇḍas as the pivot of the local society and its economy.

The factors promoting the transformation of Māyilangai into an urban centre are not clear. It is possible that the temple and its cult requirements provided one of the catalysts for this transformation.

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*612 EC V (new ed) TN 230. *613 Ibid, TN 233.

*614 D.C.Sircar, I.E.G, q.v. Māḍai. *615 EC V (new ed) TN 229.

The role of the temple in promoting trade is suggested by the Suttūr inscription of AD 1032.*616 Suttūr or Śrōtriyūr (Nanjanagūḍ taluk, Mysore district) was a brahmadēya settlement. The inscription in question records the establishment of the temples of Īśāna Īśvaramuḍaiyar and Mūlasthāna Uḍaiyar; the latter caused to be constructed by Guṇḍabbe, wife of Mārayya śeṭṭi of Śrōtriyūr.*617 Several grants of land*618 and of levies of grain and cotton on the tenants (okkal)*619 were made to these temples as well as to the shrine of Śrōtriyūravve by the local merchants, among others. One of these donors is named Pūvina śeṭṭi, of the maṭha to the east of Īśāna Īśvaramuḍaiyar.*620 It is possible that he supplied flowers (pū) for the temple and maṭha. In addition to local merchants , the samaya (assembly - here a group of merchants?) including the members of the Nānādēśi guild invested wealth (dhana) in wet lands, gardens (aṟeve?) and oil for a perpetual lamp.*621

The details of the grants place Śrōtriyūr clearly in the rural category. However, references to merchants both local and supralocal would indicate that Śrōtriyūr was drawn into the network of trade and commerce, probably owing to the temples and monastic institutions situated there. Taken all in all, Śrōtriyūr was evidently on the threshold of urbanization in this period.

Thus epigraphic sources indicate a partial urbanization in the period under review. Banavasi was probably an urban centre all through the period - a survival of the early historic era. Other centres such as Āsandi, and Taḷavaṇanagara show a slow development, political and religious factors rather than commercial probably account for their growth. From the tenth century onwards the growth of trade seems to have accelerated the emergence of urban centres. The conquest of the region by the Cōḷas, in particular, drew the region into the supra local trade network and promoted urbanization. The conscious role played by the Cōḷas in this process shall be taken up later.*622

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*616 EC III (new ed) Nj 215 *617 Ibid, ll 9-11 *618 Ibid, ll 18,24-26

*619 Ibid, l 18 *620 Ibid, ll.10-12. *621 Ibid, ll.29-35.

*622 Infra, Chapter V, Section B.

Inscriptions give us no clue as to the physical form of the urban centres. Literary descriptions may be taken as supplying the gap. Fortifications are attested to in only two cases-Banavāsi and Āsandi. Temples and houses are mentioned in most cases. But no clear street plan emerges. The pre-eminence of the capital is suggested by several references in inscriptions to rulers as the "boon lords of the city" (puravareśvara). Kōlāla was apparently the town par excellence of the Ganga kingdom since Ganga kings are repeatedly referred to as "Kōlāla puravareśvara.*623 Similarly Maṇalēra is styled Valabhīpuravareśvara in the Āṭakūr inscription*624, while Maciga was Trikundapuravareśvara, a title of the scions of the Māṭūravaṁśa.*625 This may perhaps be related to the standard references to the nāḍu and city available from the Vaḍḍārādhane. The capital city was the domain of the ruler, the centre of the realm.

Thus literary works and epigraphic references may be considered supplementary in some respects. The overall picture they present is of the urban centre as the administrative centre of the kingdom which gradually developed with growing trade and commerce into a centre of trade. Manufacture and artisanal activity is in comparison, neglected by our sources. References to artisans come chiefly from rural contexts. Temples and monasteries were, in addition to administration and trade, factors of importance in the growth of urban centres.

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*623 Supra, fn.571.

*624 EC VII (new ed) Mu 42 of AD 949-50.

*625 EC VII (old ed) Sb 476.

# CHAPTER III

## POLITICAL SCENARIO

### A) STATE FORMATION - THE BACKGROUND

The earliest Gaṅga inscriptions are datable, on palaeographic grounds to the close of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth centuries AD[*1]. The majority of these early records were recovered from the modern districts of Anantapur (in Andhra Pradesh), Kolar, Bangalore and Tumkur. Toponymy would indicate that most of them relate to the area of their provenance[*2].

The origins of the Gaṅgas are obscure. Their early inscriptions are silent on this subject. They merely state that the rulers belonged to the Kāṇvāyana gōtra and Jāhnaveya Kula[*3]. This account is maintained in all their copper plate records uptil the beginning of the eleventh century when the male line of the dynasty appears to have died out. However, certain lithic inscriptions from the Shimoga district, issued by the cognatic descendants of the Gaṅgas in the eleventh and twelfth centuries give us lengthy, legendary accounts of their origins and rise to power[*4]. These records trace the descent of the Gaṅgas from the Ikṣvāku monarchs of Ayōdhya[*5]. Details of the king list vary from inscription to inscription. However, all of them tally in ascribing the dynastic name of "Gaṅga" to the propitiation of the goddess Gaṅgā by one of the rulers of the lineage, for progeny. Another common feature of all these late epigraphic accounts is the acquisition of royal insignia, bestowed on the Gaṅgas by the god Indra. The migration to south India is ascribed to the invasion by a neighbouring ruler who coveted the insignia presented by god Indra. Padmanābha, the

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*1. I depend here on the palaeographic dating suggested in K.V. Ramesh (ed) Inscriptions of the Western Gangas. The chronology of the early Gangas is a vexed question with different scholars hazarding diverse views.

*2. Vide Infra, Chapter III, Section B.

*3. K.V. Ramesh, Op. cit., No.1. II 2-4.

*4. EC. VII (old ed)Sh 4,10, 64; EC VIII (old ed) Nr. 35.

*5. B. Sheik Ali, History of the Western Gangas, Mysore 1976, p. 2 cites Kalinga Gaṅga records wherein the Gangas are said to be the descendants of Yayāti.

reigning Gaṅga monarch, thereupon sent the regalia with his sons, Daḍiga and Mādhava to the south. On reaching Pērūr, the two princes met a Jaina ācārya Simhanandi, who took an interest in them and propitiated the goddess Padmāvatī to obtain boons for them. He presented them with a sword which Mādhava (Kongaṇivarma) seized to break a stone pillar with a single stroke. Thereupon, Simhanandin, "made a coronet of Karṇikara blossoms bound it on Mādhava's head and gave them the dominion of the earth, presented them with a flag and furnished them with attendants, elephants and horses..... with the lofty Nandagiri as their fortress, Kuvaḷāla as their city, the 96,000 country as their dominion, with the blameless Jina for their lord and victory as their faith, Daḍiga and Mādhava ruled over the earth"[*6].

Early Gaṅga records are silent on the subject of descent from the Ikṣvākus and the migration from North India. Indeed, the sole reference to descent from an established Purāṇic lineage appears in the Gummareḍḍipura plates of Durvinīta wherein he is described as "the ornament of the Vṛṣṇi clan and belonging to the family of Kṛṣṇa"[*7]. This claim of Durvinīta's is not taken up in any subsequent Gaṅga charter. Nor does it support the late accounts of the Shimoga records. The reference to Nandagiri and Kuvaḷāla, on the other hand, are derived from the Gaṅga lithic records of the ninth and tenth centuries, which describe them as Nandagirinātha and Kuvaḷālapuravarēśvara[*8]. Similarly, the dominions of the Gaṅgas had come to be designated Gaṅgavāḍi - 96,000 by the eighth century[*9]. However, as we shall see below, Gaṅga paramountcy over the region which came to be known as the 96,000 country was established in graduated phases[*10].

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*6. EC VII (old ed) Sh 4.

*7. K.V. Ramesh, Op. cit., No. 24, l. 31.

*8. EC X (old ed) KI 79, EC III (new ed) Nj 385, EC I (new ed) No, 96, etc.

*9. EC VII (new ed) Md 35, l. 61 of AD 713-14, is the earliest record to mention it. References to the 96,000 country are a common place in the copper plate inscriptions of Śrīpuruṣa (AD 725-788).

*10. Vide Infra, Section B.

The reference to cutting the stone pillar appears in several early Gaṅga records commencing with the Meḷekōṭe plates of Mādhavavarman II of the Talakāḍ branch, datable to the close of the fifth century AD[*11].

The Kulagāṇa plates of Śivamāra I of the early eighth century are the earliest to associate a Jaina ācārya. The name of the ācārya is missing since the record is effaced[*12]. The Kūḍlūr plates of Mārasimha II of AD 963 clearly refer to Simhanandi crowning Koṅgaṇivarma with Karṇīkara blossoms after he had broken the stone pillar[*13]. The Shimoga records have apparently elaborated on this brief reference.

By the twelfth century, the association of Simhanandyācārya with the foundation of the Gaṅga Kingdom had become part of the Jaina lore in Karnāṭaka. It is mentioned in two inscriptions from Sravaṇabeḷgoḷa. The first dated AD 1119 records a grant by Gaṅgarāja, a celeberated feudatory of Viṣṇuvardhana Hoysaḷa. The prelude states that the Gaṅga kingdom was brought into existence by Simhanandi munīndra of Koṇḍakundānvaya and Dēśika gaṇa[*14]. The second, an epitaph of the Jaina monk Malliṣēṇa dated AD 1129, includes a praśasti of all preceptors of the Koṇḍakundānvaya. Therein, Simhanandi Muni is said to have vouchsafed to his disciple the sharp sword of meditation on the venerable Arhat which cuts the stone pillars, the ghāti sins. It was this which enabled him to cut the stone pillar barring the entry of the goddess of sovereignty[*15].

It would appear that the cutting of the stone pillar was one of the traditions associated with the founder of the dynasty. To this the Jainas added the element of Simhanandi's assistance. The association benefitted both, by legitimizing the dynasty in the eyes of its Jaina subjects, and securing for the Jaina sangha the extensive patronage of the

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*11. K.V. Ramesh, Op. cit., No. 11, 1.2

*12. EC IV (new ed) Ch 347. "Śramaṇācārya sādhitah svakhaḍgaika ... rākrama yaśasah"

*13. K.V. Ramesh, op. cit., No. 138, ll 11-13.

*14. EC II (new ed) SB547, 1.4.

*15. EC II (new ed) SB 77, 11. 24-27

Gaṅgas. We have no way of determining the truth or otherwise of the tradition connecting Simhanandi with the founder of the dynasty. However, the fact that the earliest Ganga records are silent on the subject certainly renders its authenticity suspect. It is surely significant that the association of Simhanandi with Koṅgaṇivarma occurs only in the Jaina records of the eighth century and later when Jainism was at the zenith of its influence in this region. Prior to the eighth century, the Gaṅgas do not appear to have patronized Jainism to any significant degree. The majority of the Gaṅga charters of the first phase (c. AD 400-AD 725) record brahmadeya grants*[16]. The early Gaṅgas do not appear to have had the blameless Jina for their lord.

With this unsatisfactory data base, the origins of the Gaṅgas has been a vexed question with the historians working on it. Numerous hypotheses have been advanced. B.L. Rice, who established the existence of this ruling lineage suggested that they were the descendants of the short lived Kāṇvāyana dynasty of North India*[17]. He also places the epoch of the Ganga dynasty in the second or the third century AD on the basis of dates provided by such spurious records as the Kūḍlāpura inscriptions*[18] (Nanjanagudu taluk, Mysore district), and the Tanjore*[19] and Kūḍlūr plates of Harivarman*[20]. Rice was uncritical in his acceptance of all Ganga records as genuine, as pointed out by Fleet*[21]. Subsequently, new records were brought to light, which led to dating the epoch of the dynasty to the second half or the close of the fourth century A.D. This would leave a yawning gap of four centuries between the Śungabhṛtya Kāṇva Kings*[22] of Magadha and

*16. Vide Chapter VI, Section B, Vedic Brahmanism.

*17. B.L. Rice, Mysore and Coorg from inscriptions, Bangalore 1909, p.10

*18. EC III (new ed) Nj 322. purportedly of Śaka 25, Śubhakṛt, issued by Koṅgaṇivarma, the prathama Ganga.

*19. I.A. VIII, p. 212.

*20. K.V. Ramesh op. cit., No. 4 of year 188, Jaya samvatsara.

*21. J.F. Fleet, Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts of Bombay Presidency; Bombay Gazetteer, Vol I pp 11-14

*22. A.K. Majumdar, A Concise History of Ancient India Vol. I pp. 175-76 quoting an unspecified Purāṇa.

the Gaṅgas. Moreover, the practice of adopting brahminical gotras was a common one in south India in this period. Among the ruling lineages making such claims were the Pallavas, (Bhāradvāja gōtra)*[23], the Bṛhatpālāyanas and Śālankāyanas (Ānanda gotra), the rulers of Kalinga (Vaśiṣtha Kula) and the rulers of Piṣṭhāpura (Rāmakāśyapas)*[24]. The Kadambas who were roughly contemporaneous with the Gaṅgas, claimed to belong to the Mānavya gotra and designated themselves Hāritiputras*[25] following the example of their predecessors in the Banavāsi area the Cuṭukulānanda Sātakarṇis*[26]. The Cāḷukyas of Vātāpi who supplanted the Kadambas in Northern Karnāṭaka adopted similar dynastic claims*[27]. The Gaṅgas thus appear to have followed current practice in claiming to belong to the Kāṇvāyana gōtra. As already observed Gaṅga records do not provide any evidence for migration from North India. In the light of these facts a link between the Kāṇva Kings of Magadha and the Gaṅgas appears unlikely.

M.V. Krishna Rao, author of the first monograph on the Gaṅgas has suggested that the Gangas were linked to the Ikṣvākus of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa*[28]. However, as we have seen above, early Ganga records do not provide any evidence of the Ikṣvāku connection. It is only in the late Shimoga records that the Gaṅgas are said to have been the descendants of the Ikṣvāku kings of North India. Nevertheless, as we shall see, the influence of such neighbouring states as that of the Ikṣvākus of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa might have affected state formation in Southern Karnāṭaka.

A.R. Baji accepts the account of the Shimoga records in toto and is of the opinion that the Gaṅgas were immigrants from North India. He connects the migration of the

*23. EI VIII, No. 23 pp 233-36; EI XXIV, No. 43, pp 296-303, etc.

*24. T.R. Trautmann, Dravidian Kinship, Cambridge, 1981, p 373, fn 25.

*25. ECIV pp 49. 1. 3-5.

*26. T.R. Trautmann, op. cit. p 372-73

*27. EI III, No.8. pp. 50-53 11. 1-2

*28. M.V. Krishna Rao, The Gangas of Talakad; A Monograph on the History of Mysore from the fourth to the close of the 11th century, Mysore 1936, p.

Ganga princes to the south in the company of forty-eight brāhmaṇas with the tradition that Mayūravarma Kadamba invited brāhmaṇas from Ahicchatra to settle in Kuṇṭala (North Karnāṭaka)*[29]. He cites the Tālagunda Pillar inscription*[30] as the authority for this tradition. However, this celebrated record, which traces the origins of the Kadambas is silent on the subject of brāhmaṇa migrations from North India*[31].

Be that as it may, Baji and Arokiaswamy concur in locating the earliest nucleus of the Gaṅga kingdom in the Kongu region of Tamil Nadu (the modern districts of Salem, Dharmapuri and Coimbatore)*[32]. Arokiaswamy identifies Pērūr, the place where the Gaṅga princes are said to have met ācārya Simhanandi with Pērūr in Coimbatore district*[33], disagreeing with Rice who had located the locus in quo at Ganga -Pērūr in Cuddapah district*[34]. He supports his identification by the fact that Pērūr in Coimbatore district, unlike its counter-part in the Cuddappah district, has numerous Jaina remains and thus qualifies better as a seat of a Jaina Pontiff*[35].

Baji and Arokiaswamy further corroborate their contention that the Kongu country was the earliest nucleus of Ganga power in the south by citing the Kongudēśa - rājakkal, a late seventeenth century chronicle which details the history of the region*[36]. Therein the

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*29. A.R. Baji, "Origin of the Western Gangas" in Journal of Indian History (J.I.H.) XXX, 1952, pp 181-191.

*30. EC VII (old ed) SK 176.

*31. Vide Infra Chapter IV, Section F, p246, fn 429. The Gaṭṭavāḍi plates are one of the earliest records to mention the brāhmaṇa migration from Ahicchatra to the South. M Liceria, A.C. "The Migration of Brāhmaṇas to Karnāṭaka" in K M Shrimali (ed) Essays in Indian Art, Religion and Society, 1987, pp 121-126 discusses the evidence in some detail.

*32. A.R. Baji, "Acarya Simhanandi; king maker and Pontiff" in I.H.Q. vol. XXX, No. 2 (June 1954), p. 123.

*33. M. Arokiaswamy, The Kongu country, Madras 1956 p. 104-105.

*34. B.L. Rice, op. cit., p.11

*35. M. Arokiaswamy, op, cit, p. 104-105.

36. Ibid, pp. 104-105, A.R. Baji, "Acarya Simhanandi; King -maker and Pontiff", loc cit, p. 128.

Gaṅgas are said to have been the successors of the Raṭṭas, who had, by and large, supported the Jaina sangha. However, the last monarch of the Raṭṭa lineage, Tribhuvana cakravarti, reportedly turned Śaivite. He was then followed on the throne of the Kongu desa by Konganivarman, the first Gaṅga ruler. Baji speculates that the conversion of Tribhuvana cakravarti led to his overthrow. The Jainas then enthroned a new ruler "who would adhere to the faith of the majority of the population*37. In this context he cites the Shimoga records which quote Simhanandi's injunction to the Ganga Princes to adhere to the Jaina faith*38. Baji attributes the silence of the early Ganga records on the subject of Simhanandi to the undeniable fact that they were from the time of Mādhavavarman I adherents of brahminism. This, in his opinion made them less than eager to recollect the Jaina auspices of their rise to power*39.

He believes moreover, that the Gaṅgas used the Kongu country as a springboard to establish their control over southern Karnāṭaka as subordinate allies of the Pallavas. In the reign of Mādhavavarman I, the Gaṅgas shifted their base to Kōlār and Paṛuvi*40, although, he opines, they retained a hold over the Kongu country. That Kongu was their earliest stronghold in his opinion is further supported by the fact that there is no reference to any later monarch conquering the region*41.

The Kongu country was undeniably an early centre of the Gaṅgas. In fact, a copper plate inscription issued by the fourth generation Gaṅga king, Simhavarman of the Kaivāra branch has been recovered from Pērūr in Coimbatore district. It registers the grant of lands and a garden for a temple of the Arhat affiliated to the Mūla Saṅgha, constructed by the royal favourite (rājapriyāya) Nandavva*42. The Mēlekōṭe plates of Mādhavavarman II of the Talakāḍ branch too refer to a Pērūr adhiṣṭhāna, the inhabitants of which together with

*37. Ibid, p. 130.

*38. EC VII (old ed) Sh 4.

*39. A.R. Baji "Acarya Simhanandi...." loc. cit. p. 126-27.

*40. Ibid.

*41. Ibid, p. 129.

*42. K.V. Ramesh, op. cit. No. 155.

the Maṇigrāma śrēṇi were to make over grants of land gold and cloth to the Buddha saṅgha. We have references to several merchants in the details of the land grant*[43]. This Pērūr may be located in the Kongu region. An important transpeninsular trade route connecting the west and east coasts passed through the Kongu country*[44]. The references to merchants and the Maṇigrāma śrēṇi may be viewed in this context. Moreover as Champakalakshmi has pointed out, Buddhism and Jainism were patronized by the commercial classes of the Śangam towns with Jainism predominating in the inland towns and Buddhism in the coastal urban centres*[45]. Available evidence indicates that Jainism had a strong representation in Pērūr but by no means enjoyed a monopoly as believed by Baji and Arokiaswamy. If the Pērūr referred to in the Mēḷekōṭe Plates is to be identified with that in Coimbatore district it certainly detracts from Baji's view that the majority of the population in that area was Jaina.

Further, even if we accept the evidence of the Kongudēśarājakkaḷ a very late work of the 17th century, to attribute the downfall of the Raṭṭas to the conversion of its last ruler, would be farfetched. One wonders then, why the Gaṅgas escaped a similar fate, for as mentioned earlier, the majority of the early Gaṅga Kings were "ever engaged in worshipping the (brahmanical) gods, the twice-born and the elders"*[46].

This is true even of Simhavarman*[47] whose hold over Pērūr is incontestable. If the Mūla Saṅgha wielded sufficient power to establish or overthrow dynasties in the Kongu region, the continued sway of the Gaṅgas over the region after their supposed apostasy is inconceivable.

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43. Ibid, No. 11, 11.6-17, 25-26.

*44. R. Champakalakshmi, "Urbanization in South India; the role of ideology and Polity", Presidential Address, Section I, Indian History Congress, (47th session, Srinagar 1986), p. 10.

*45. Ibid, p. 9.

*46. K.V. Ramesh, op. cit., No. 5. Beṇḍigānahaḷḷi plates of Vijaya Kṛṣṇavarman, ll. 7-8, for instance.

*47. Ibid., No. 155, l 19.

In sum, the evidence indicates that Pērūr in Coimbatore district was a seat of the Mūla saṅgha and was held by at least some of the early Gaṅga rulers. However, we have no data to prove that it was their earliest power centre. While there is no evidence to indicate that it was conquered by a successor of Koṅgaṇivarman, it must be recollected that the inscriptions, particularly of the first phase (c. AD 400 - AD 725) do not render a systematic account of the conquests of the various monarchs but abound in general statements in praise of their valour and prowess*48 . Even where specific achievements are recounted the epigraphic praśastis' evidence is far from reliable given the tendency of the court bards to present their monarch as the ever victorious hero*49 .

The distinctive contribution of Baji and Arokiaswamy to the debate on the origins of the Gaṅgas has been to draw our attention to early Gaṅga control over the Kongu region. Their major drawback has been their acceptance of late evidence of the Shimoga records and the Kongudēśarājakkal which does not quite square with the data presented in the early Gaṅga records themselves.

B. Sheik Ali rejects all these hypotheses since they are based on unreliable evidence. Resorting to "constructive reasoning", he concludes that the "founders must have been sons of the soil. They must have watched local conditions and prepared themselves carefully for striking at the roots of the weak authority existing at the time. They must have prepared the ground previously both in respect of military force and financial resources"*50 . It is quite plausible to visualise that state formation in the area under study took place as a result of internal developments, as we shall show presently. But Sheik Ali's arguments are built on wrong premises. He believes that the Gaṅgas were drawn from among the Gaṅgaḍikāras who are even today the largest section of the agricultural population of southern Karnāṭaka.

*48. Ibid, No. 12, Noṇamangaḷa Plates of Koṅgaṇivarman Avinita, II. 17-18. NO. 24; Gummareḍḍipura plates of Durvinita 1.29.

*49. K. Veluthat, "Monarchical Power in early Medieval South India; the image and the reality". Paper presented in seminar on State in South India, held in J.N.U., New Delhi in March, 1989, pp. 22-23.

*50. B. Sheik Ali, History of the Western Gangas p. 13.

However, Gaṅgaḍikāra is probably derived from Gaṅgavāḍikāra meaning inhabitant of Gaṅgavāḍi. As we have seen have southern Karnataka came to be designated Gangavāḍi only in the eighth century after at least three centuries of Gaṅga rule over the area*[51]. It would thus appear that the Kingdom was named after the Gaṅgas rather than the dynasty deriving its name from the territory.

Sheik Ali also argues that the Gangas derived their name from the Kāvēri, which is also known as the Dakṣiṇa Gangā, on the banks of which their earliest capital, Talakāḍ was situated. Alternatively, he suggests that the dynastic name was derivable from that of the goddess Gangā, the consort of Śiva whose cult was popular in southern Karnāṭaka. "If either the river Kāvēri or the goddess Gangā was the inspiring factor for calling the dynasty the Gangas, if could only happen when some local or indigenous leader seized power"*[52].

This argument of Sheik Ali's raises several issues. In the first place, it is interesting to note that while Sheik Ali rejects the attempt made by the Kongu school of origins to link the name of the founder, Konganivarman with the Kongudēśa*[53], he resorts to an analogous argument in support of his own contention. Secondly as he himself notes, there is a general tendency to enhance the sanctity of a local river by identifying it with the Gangā*[54]. Thus like the Kāvēri, the Gōdāvari too has been hailed as Dakṣiṇa Gangā. It might be more rational to accept the legendary accounts of the Gangetic origins of the Gangas given in the Shimoga records, as an explanation for the dynastic name rather than to derive it secondarily from the river Kāvēri's rating as the Dakṣiṇa Gangā.

The final and most significant point raised by Sheik Ali concerns the status of Talakāḍ as the earliest capital and nucleus of Gaṅga power. Talakāḍ does not appear to have been associated with the Gaṅgas prior to Harivarman's reign. The extant inscriptions

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*51. Vide supra, p.105

*52. B. Sheik Ali, op. cit., p. 14.

*53. Ibid, p. 17 "The affinity of a name with the place does not entitle one to prove that he belonged to the place".

*54. Ibid, p. 14.

of this third generation Gaṅga monarch, the progenitor of the Talakāḍ branch, are all spurious, engraved in the characters of the ninth and tenth centuries*[55]. It is only in the period of Mādhavavarman II, Harivarman's grandson that we have incontestable evidence of Gaṅga presence in the Western division*[56] (the modern districts of Mysore, Mandya, Hassan, Coorg and Chikmagalur). Their control over this region was further consolidated under Avinīta and Durvinīta*[57]. However, as we have seen above, the majority of the early Ganga records were found in the Eastern division (the modern districts of Kōlār, Bangalore, Tumkur and adjacent areas of Anantapur district). This region appears to have been their earliest nucleus of power. This is further borne out by the fact that lithic inscriptions of the ninth and tenth centuries refer to the Gaṅgas as Kuvaḷālapuravārēśvara and Nandagiri nātha, this at a time when the locus of Gaṅga power had shifted west-wards to the Kāvēri Valley*[58].

Further, several eighth century lithic epigraphs from the Kōlār and Bangalore districts mention the politico-geographic unit of Gaṅga - 6000*[59]. The fact that this unit included areas whence the earliest and largest number of Gaṅga records of the first phase were recovered would lend credence to the belief that it constituted the earliest nucleus of the Gaṅga Kingdom even though references to Gaṅgavāḍi - 96000 antedate those to Gaṅga - 6000.

Sheik Ali quotes T.V. Mahalingam to the effect that the Bāṇas had established themselves in the Kōlār region in the mid-fourth century AD and consequently the Gaṅgas must have established themselves in the Talakāḍ area first and then spread to the Kōlār

*55. EC III (new ed) Nj 262; ASMAR 1921, p. 7; IA VIII, p. 212.

*56. ASMAR 1930, No. 3, pp. 113 ff.

*57. Vide Infra Section B.

*58. Vide Infra Section C.

*59. EC X (old ed) Mb 80, Sp. 57, Mb 255 of the 8th century; EC X (old ed) Kl 79 of the 9th from Kolar and ASMAR 1926-27 pp 34-35 of the 8th century from Bangalore district.

region ousting the Bāṇas therefrom*[60]. However no Bāṇa records of the period prior to the eighth century have been found in the eastern division, with the exception of the Muḍiyanūr copper plates*[61] dated śaka 261, Viḷambi samvatsara. Although Rice who edited the inscription has not dismissed it as spurious*[62], there is every possibility that the inscription belongs to the second phase (AD 725-1025), since the use of the Jupiter cycle and of the numerical suffixes to territorial units mentioned in the record, are both features datable to that period in southern Karnāṭaka.

Moreover, references to Kongaṇivarman routing the Bāṇas come from very late inscriptions. One such reference occurs in the Udayendiram copper plates of Pṛthivīpati II of AD 921, which state that Kongaṇivarman "was anointed to conquer Bāṇa maṇḍala"*[63]. However, this reference might possibly have been intended as a legitimation of Pṛthivīpati's own conquest and displacement of the Bāṇas from their territory*[64].

Available evidence thus indicates that Kōlār was the earliest nucleus of Gaṅga power. Talakāḍ too, was an early centre, the base of a collateral branch of the Gaṅgas which later defeated the rival branches and incorporated their territories in the eastern division into its own principality. However, the origins of the Gaṅgas appear as obscure as ever. The arguments of Sheik Ali in favour of indigenous origins are wrapped in a tissue of suppositions and are as unacceptable as the rest in its current form.

An alternative approach to the problem of the origin of the Gaṅgas is to study the prehistoric record of Southern Karnāṭaka. Unfortunately, while more than three hundred

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*60. B. Sheik Ali, op. cit., p. 16.

*61. EC X (old ed) Mb 157.

*62. Rice's uncriticalness in accepting all records as genuine has been noted earlier, vide supra, p.107

*63. S.I.I., Vol. II, pt. III, No. 76, pp. 375 ff.

*64. In a similar fashion, the praśastis of the Kalyāṇa Cāḷukyas attribute to the Vātāpi Cāḷukyas conquest over the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, a fact which the Vātāpi Cāḷukya records themselves do not mention: Ranna, Gadāyuddham II 7.

prehistoric sites have been identified in this region, excavation reports are available only for T, Narsipur, Hemmige and Jaḍigēnahaḷḷi. Consequently, our knowledge of the pre-historic cultures of this area is very limited. We are compelled to draw inferences from the data available from comparable cultures in the neighbouring regions of Northern Karnạtaka, Āndhra Pradesh and Tamil Nāḍu.

Traces of Palaeolithic and Mesolithic cultures are discernible at such sites as Biḷigere and Kibbanahaḷḷi (Tumkur District), T.Narsipur, Ranganāthapuram and Hemmige (Mysore District), Karaḍiguḍḍa (Hassan District), and Jālahaḷḷi (Bangalore District)[*65].

Around the beginning of the second millennium B.C.[*66] the region appears to have been occupied by pastoralists who seem also to have engaged in some swidden cultivation. Some vestiges of survivals from earlier phases are perceptible at Hemmige where a crude flake industry is associated with the Neolithic cultural artefacts[*67]. The Neolithic people appear to have followed a multiple subsistence strategy. They were primarily cattle breeders-bones of cattle outnumber those of sheep and goats at T.Narsipur[*68], a pattern similar that of other south Indian Neolithic sites such as Brahmagiri, Maski, Hallur and Tekkalakōṭa (Bellary district)[*69]. Rock engravings at Neolithic sites such as Tekkalakōṭa (Bellary district) also indicate the significance of cattle for the Neolithic folk[*70]. Small herds

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*65. Details of explored sites are drawn from A. Ghosh (ed) Encyclopaedia of Indian Archaeology, Vol II Gazetteer of Explored and Excavated sites, ICHR, New Delhi, 1980.

*66. The date of the earliest level at T. Narsipur is 1805 + 110 B.C. M. Seshadri; Report on Excavation at T. Narsipur, Bangalore 1971.

*67. A Ghosh, op.cit. q.v.Hemmige.

*68. B.P. Sahu, From Hunters to Breeders (Faunal Background of Early India) Delhi 1988. p. 196.

*69. K. Paddayya "Faunal Background of the Neolithic culture in South India" in F.R. Allchin and Dilip K. Chakravarti (ed.) A. Sourcebook of Indian Archaeology Vol. I Delhi 1979 p. 349.

*70. Ibid.

of goats and sheep too appear to have been maintained. We also have evidence for swidden cultivation using digging sticks and hoes*71.

Horse gram and ragi were apparently grown, since charred grains of these species were recovered from Hallūr (Dharwar district) and Tekkalakōṭa*72. The Neolithic levels at Doḍḍakoḍattūr (Kōlār district) have yielded burnt rice husks*73 which might indicate the cultivation of that cereal in southern Karṅāṭaka. Apart from cattle herding and agriculture, hunting and fishing were also resorted to for subsistence*74.

At Tekkalakōṭa, Sanganakallu, (Beḷḷāry district), Brahmagiri (Chitradurga district), Palavoy (Anantapur district), Paiyyampaḷḷi (North Arcot district), etc., wattle and daub houses set on a circular ground plan have been exposed. Seneviratne, following Flannery, suggests that such curvilinear structures often coincide with nomadic and semi-nomadic societies. He estimates that each circular structure at Sanganakallu or Tekkalakōṭa may have accommodated a nuclear family and that the terraced site at either place could hold a lineage composed of around twenty such families. He is of the opinion that the Neolithic people in south India were organised in segmentary lineages, with the tribe as a whole coming together on ritual occasions. He suggests moreover, that the cyclic nature of ash mounds in the Deccan possibly indicated such periodic gatherings of the tribal segments*75.

In Southern Karnataka Neolithic habitations appear to have varied widely, ranging from rock-shelters on the castellated hill at Bānahaḷḷi*76 to pit dwellings at

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*71. M. Seshadri, op.cit, p.7; A.Ghosh op.cit., q.v. Bannahalli.

*72. K. Paddayya, op.cit., p. 350

*73. A. Ghosh, op. cit., q.v. Doḍḍakoḍattūr.

*74. K. Paddayya, op. cit., pp. 349-50

*75. Sudarshan Seneviratne, "Pre-state to state societies: Transformations in the Political Ecology of South India with special reference to Tamil Nadu". Paper presented at seminar on State in South India, held at J.N.U., New Delhi in March 1989, pp. 5-6.

*76. A. Ghosh (ed), op. cit., q.v. Banahalli.

Doḍḍakaḍattūr[*77] to regular mud houses at T. Narsipur[*78] and Hemmige[*79]. A similar variety is reported from the Near East and Oates links it to the differing stages in the sedentarization of these people. Thus rock shelters and circular dwellings characterize nomadic and semi-nomadic groups camping temporarily at a station. Pit dwellings were a feature of a semi-permanent residence, while regular mud houses, most often rectilinear in plan, were characteristic of permanent settlements[*80]. Unfortunately, the relative chronology of these sites in Southern Karnāṭaka is not known, and consequently it is unclear whether sedentarization was a development over time or was site-specific.

In sum we can conclude that the Neolithic folk who are represented in over thirty two sites in our region were by and large pastoral nomads, practising some swidden cultivation also. In some sites they appear to have set up permanent settlements. The meagre evidence available seems to indicate that they were organised in fairly egalitarian segmentary lineages, with scarcely any hint of rank differentiation.

A broad spectrum subsistence strategy also characterised the iron using Megalithic communities who followed the Neolithic people often without a clear break at sites like Hunugund (Kōlār district)[*81] and T. Narsipur[*82]. The beginnings of this new culture date to c. 1000 B.C.[*83]. It was in this phase that southern Karnāṭaka appears to have been settled on a large scale. As opposed to thirty two sites betraying signs of a Neolithic occupation we have 258 sites for the Megalithic culture, with burial sites outnumbering those with habitational deposits. Significantly, the largest number of Megalithic sites have been

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*77. Ibid., q.v. Doḍḍakoḍattūr.

*78. M. Seshadri, op. cit, p. 7.

*79. A. Ghosh, (ed), op. cit., q.v. Hemmige

*80. Joan Oates "Mesopotamian Social organisation: archaeological and philogical evidence" in J. Friedman and M.J. Rowlands (ed) The Evolution of Social systems; pub. by Duckworth, NW (1977). p. 465.

*81. A. Ghosh (ed), op. cit., Vol. II, q.v. Hunugund.

*82. M. Seshadri, op. cit., p. 8

*83. A. Ghosh (ed), op. cit., Vol. I 4.17.8; p 126.

reported for Kōlār district (120) and the Mysore district (110). As we have seen earlier, the earliest centres of Ganga power were situated in precisely these areas. Kōlār itself has traces of Megalithic occupation, its gold mines appear to have been worked in this period[*84]. Similarly, Talakāḍ, the other early centre of the Gangas, is situated close to T. Narsipur and Hemmige.

This profusion of megalithic sites in contrast to the meagre numbers of Neolithic - Chalcolithic sites perhaps reflects a demographic expansion. A similar trend is noticed in Andhra Pradesh as well. Seneviratne relates it to the coincident spread of settlements in Andhra Pradesh from the highland peripheral areas to the fertile deltaic plains. Moreover in his opinion, the earlier pastoral and swidden cultivation economy underwent a change in this period to become primarily agrarian, with the introduction of plough cultivation and of a new crop - paddy[*85].

Leshnik, on the other hand is of the opinion that the authors of the Megalithic culture were pastoral nomads. In support of his argument he points out that in contrast to modern village cemeteries in the region, megalithic burial sites are situated beyond the arable lands and are often not associated with habitational remains. Further, the small number of graves in these iron age cemetries would indicate that they were organised in small groups - a feature more characteristic of nomadic societies than of a sedentary agrarian milieu. Finally, he argues that the associated grave goods reflect a pastoral society. The iron implements found in the graves are in his opinion more suited as weapons of offence than of defence. He identifies the so called plough shares as pickaxes. Moreover, as we have seen a predominantly pastoral economy does not rule out an agricultural component within it[*86].

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*84. A. Ghosh (ed), op. cit., Vol. II. q.v. Kolar; Gold mining in the Megalithic period is also referred to by FR Allchin and B. Allchin, Rise of Civilization in India and Pakistan, New Delhi 1983, pp. 337-339.

*85. S. Seneviratne "Kalinga and Andhra: The process of secondary state formation in early India" in Indian Historical Review (IHR), Vol. VII, Nos 1-2 (July 1980 - Jan 1981) pp 55-56

*86. L.S. Leshnik; South Indian Megalithic Burials, Weisbaden 1974, p. 274.

However, as H.P. Ray points out the predominantly agrarian character of many of the Megalithic sites is undeniable. She cites the instance of Naikund and Takalghat in Vidarbha, both of which were habitation sites wherein agriculture was a major component of the economy[*87].

From southern Karnāṭaka too, we have numerous instances of habitation sites with or without associated burials. The majority of these habitation sites, it is interesting to note are situated in the upper Kāvēri valley.

In the context of Tamil Nadu Seneviratne distinguishes two groups of megalithic sites. The first, situated in peripheral areas such as the Dharmapuri district and the Nilgiri-Coonoor region appear to have been more ancient, on the basis of literary evidence. These sites were perhaps associated with the earliest intrusive iron-using megalithic groups. Their economy like that of the preceding Neolithic - Chalcolithic peoples was predominantly pastoral. In addition, agriculture, essentially of the slash and burn variety as well as hunting and gathering were resorted to for subsistence. The second group of sites, situated mainly in the riverine and coastal plains[*88] and associated with urn burials accompanied by cairn/stone circles was characterised by plough agriculture, fishing and salt manufacture[*89].

In the early historic period (c. first century B.C. to the third century AD) with the burgeoning of long distance trade, artisanal and mercantile activities thrived in these areas, designated in the literature of the period as the <u>marutam</u> and <u>neital</u> <u>tinais</u>[*90].

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*87. H.P. Ray, <u>Monastery and Guild: Commerce under the Satavahanas</u>, Delhi, 1986, p. 170

*88. S. Seneviratne, "Pre-state to state societies...", loc. cit, p. 15.

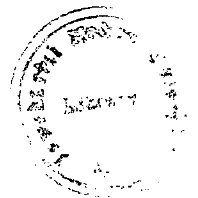
*89. R. Gurukkal "Social formations and political processes in early Tamilakam" Paper presented at Seminar on <u>State in Pre- industrial south India</u>, held at C.H.S., J.N.U., in March 1989, pp. 5-7.

*90. S. Seneviratne, "Pre state to state societies...", loc. cit., pp. 33-34.

Evidence from Southern Karnāṭaka is too meagre to enable us to determine whether similar temporal, ecological and economic distinctions separated the Eastern and Western divisions of our region. In any case, cattle and sheep herding continued to be significant in both divisions throughout the early medieval period when the ruling class attempted to extend the arable by construction of tanks and similar irrigation facilities*[91]. In the Megalithic phase the primacy of pastoralism in our region could only have been greater.

Apart from the development of plough cultivation, this phase witnessed the growth of craft specialisation. The similarity of iron tool types throughout the region from Vidarbha to Adichanallūr in Tamil Nadu where the Megalithic cultural artefacts are found led the Allchins to posit the diffusion of a tighty-knit group of iron-smiths*[92]. H. P. Ray suggests that these iron workers were possibly itinerant groups and she cites several ethnographic instances of itinerant craftsmen servicing a particular region. She is of the opinion that gold smiths, bead-makers and potters were similarly organised in itinerant groups*[93]. In the case of pottery, however, local traditions appear to have survived side by side with the characteristic Megalithic ware-the Black-and-Red.*[94].

From the evidence of the Śangam texts it would appear that the relations of production were based on kinship, and the family (kuḍi) constituted the unit of production. This apparently was true even of the advanced marutam zones where wet land plough cultivation formed the subsitence base. Since kinship based production is characterized by insubstantial surpluses, the polity of the period did not develop beyond lineage based chiefdoms*[95].





*91. Vide supra, Chap. II., Sec. C (V), D.

*92. F.R. Allchin and B.Allchin, op. cit., p. 335.

*93. H.P. Ray, op. cit., pp. 170-171.

*94. A. Ghosh (ed), op. cit., Vol.I, 4.17.8, p. 526.

*95. Rajan Gurukkal, op. cit., p. 10.

Friedman and Rowlands in their epigenetic model for the evolution of civilizations[*96] suggest that one of the earliest steps in the emergence of a state from an egalitarian tribal society is the formation of a conical clan headed by a chiefly lineage, claiming to be the nearest descendant of the local deity. Such conical clans are characterized by absolute rank difference between the chief's lineage and the rest of the tribal community, measured in terms of genelogical distance from the ancestors/deities. The chief's lineage consequently mediates between the community at large and its deities and as such claims and receives corvees and tribute from the other lineages[*97].

Tamil Śangam texts appear to indicate the existence of such a conical clan structure in late proto-historic Tamil Nadu. The texts refer to a number of chieftains in the peripheral areas styled `Perumakan', the great scion. Seneviratne opines that this may have implied descent from a tribal ancestor. He further suggests that the Megalithic mortuary practices were possibly associated with ancestor worship[*98].

The literature of the period also attests to the practice of accumulating the harvest at the residence of the headmen and its subsequent redistribution among his kinsmen and mendicants[*99]. However, the chiefs constrained by the kinship mode of production could not mobilize sufficient surplus to build up an autonomous power base[*100]. Consequently they resorted to predatory raids on neighbouring settlements in order to mobilize further resources[*101]. Such predatory raids were characteristic not merely of the vēḷir chieftains of

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*96. J. Friedman and M.J. Rowlands, "Notes towards an Epigenetic Model of the Evolution of Civilization" in J. Friedman and M.J. Rowlands (ed) The Evolution of Social systems, Duckworth, NW, 1977, pp. 201-275.

*97. Ibid, p. 211.

*98. S. Seneviratne, "Pre-state to state".

*99. R. Gurukkal, op. cit, p. 11.

*100. John Gledhill, "Introduction: the comparative analysis of social and political transitions" in J. Gledhill, B. Bender and M.T, Larsen (ed) State and Society: The Emergence and Development of Social Hierarchy and Political Centralization, pub. Unwin Hyman, London, 1988, p.12

*101. R. Gurukkal, op. cit, p. 18, 20, 26.

the peripheral Kurinci (highlands), pālai (waste lands) and mullai (pastoral tracts) eco-zones but also of the vēlirs and ūr kilārs of the marutam and neital tiṇais and the three crowned kings, the Mūvēndar.

Apart from plunder, the chiefs appear to have mustered further resources through participation in the overland and maritime commerce. The Vēḷirs in the peripheral areas capitalized on the demand for ivory, sandalwood and other products of the forest in return for "prestige goods" - gold, gems ornaments, fine cloth and other manufactured items*[102]. The Mūvēndar apparently capitalized on long distance trade the most. they controlled the coastal entrepôts like Kāvēripaṭṭinam and Muciri whence goods from the interior were exported. We have references to export items being sealed with the Cōḷa tiger emblem. It is quite possible that these incipient "Kingdoms" levied tolls on merchandise. The extraction of marine resources such as pearls, using slave labour also finds mention in several works*[103].

Tribute from subordinate chieftains apparently formed another source of income for the Mūvēndar. They subjugated other chiefs both by undertaking military campaigns and entering into matrimonial alliances with them*[104]. Such alliances bound several disparate lineage together. The bonds were strengthened by the Dravidian kinship system with its preference for matrilateral cross cousin marriages*[105].

The latest strata of the Śangam texts reveal to a certain degree the emergence of stratified society and the erosion of the kinship mode of production. These texts repeatedly

*102. Ibid.

*103. S. Seneviratne, "Pre-state to state polities...", loc. cit, p. 33.

*104. Ibid, pp. 29-30; R. Gurukkal, op. cit, p. 24.

*105. S. Seneviratne, "Pre-state to state....", loc. cit, p. 9; T.R. Trautmann, Dravidian Kinship, Cambridge, 1981, p. 24.

refer to two incipient strata - the cāṉrōr engaged in the noble pursuit of war and the ilicinār (uncivilized persons) engaged in manual labour*[106].

Thus stratification had progressed beyond the absolute rank differences characteristic of the peripheral areas. It was possibly a consequence of the social "caging" effects of long-term investment in the means of production - most notably, irrigational facilities *[107] set up by rulers like Karikāla Cōḷa *[108]. Seneviratne also highlights the role of the metropolitian state of the Mauryas with which the Mūvēndar and the Aḍigamān chiefs had contact*[109]. Northern ideologies introduced new forms of legitimation for the Mūvēndar several of whom are said to have patronised brāhmaṇas and performed Vedic sacrifices. They were also associated with epic traditions. Side by side, older forms of legitimation - eulogies by the Pāṇār who were patronized by the chiefs - continued*[110]. Trade which placed surplus resources at the command of the rulers also enabled them to cut loose from Kinship ties binding them to the tribe. By the close of the third century AD incipient states were emerging in the advanced marutam and neital eco-zones in Tamil Nāḍu.

If Tamil Nāḍu was on the threshold of social stratification and state formation towards the end of the early historic period, Northern Karnāṭaka and Āndhra saw the establishment of full-fledged states under the Sātavāhanas and later the Ikṣvākus in the same period. The emergence of the state in these areas was probably owing to the stimulus provided by the Mauryan state. The Mauryan administrative centre, Suvarṇagiri

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*106. Friedhelm Hardy, Viraha-Bhakti: The Early History of Kṛṣṇa Devotion in South India, Oxford University Press, 1983, p 130, citing Kailasapathy.

*107. This insight is developed by Michael Mann, Source of Social Power Vol. I: A History of Power from the beginning to AD 1760, Cambridge 1986, pp. 85. ff.

*108. Karikāla Cōḷa's achievements are referred not merely in Sangam sources but also in Ganga records, eg. Bēdirūr grant of Bhūvikrama, K.V. Ramesh, op. cit, No. 29, 1 26.

*109. Seneviratne "Pre-state to state...' loc. cit, p. 37.

*110. Rajan Gurukkal, op. cit., p. 32.

was situated to the south of Maski. Another cluster of sites was located in the Chitradurga district where three Aśokan edicts were fround at Brahmagiri, Siddāpur and Jaṭinga Rāmēshwar*[111]. The primary interest of the Mauryan state in this region appears to have lain in the extraction of gold particularly from the area around Māski where there is ample evidence for gold working*[112]. Thapar suggests that the gold mined here was sent back to Magadha which would account for the lack of occurrence of gold both in the Megalithic habitations and burials in this area. The region was integrated into the long distance trade network since a large number of lapis lazuli beads were found in the cluster of sites around Māski, which could only have been imported from Badakshān in Afghanistan, the nearest source of lapis lazuli*[113].

Although the Minor Rock edict in its various editions in this region attests to the presence of officials in this division, typically Mauryan cultural artefacts such as punch-marked coins and the deluxe Northern Black Polished ware are conspicuous by their absence. This is in contrast to the coastal sites of Andhra Pradesh which appear to have been more directly under the control of Mauryan administration. In Northern Karnataka the Mauryas apparently extracted resources through mechanisms of social control characteristic of Magalithic societies*[114] - conical clans of varying degrees of complexity*[115].

The atrophy of the metropolitian state's control over peripheral areas was usually followed by secondary state formation in such areas*[116] The tribal elite at the periphery were

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*111. R. Thapar, <u>Asoka and the decline of the Mauryas</u>, Delhi, 2nd ed. 1973 3rd impression 1980, Appendix III. pp. 228-238.

*112. F.R. Allchin and B. Allchin op. cit., pp. 337-39.

*113. R. Thapar "Towards the definition of an Empire: the Mauryan State"; in <u>The Mauryas Revisited,</u> S.G. Deuskar lectures on Indian History, 1984; (Calcutta 1987), p. 13.

*114. Ibid, p. 14.

*115. Vide supra, p. 122.

*116. B.D Chattopadhyaya, "Political Processes and Structure of Polity in Early Medieval India: Problems of

introduced to sophisticated forms of social and political control and the legitimization thereof; under the hegemony of the metropolitan state*[117].

Moreover, the opening up of trade with the more developed North India led to the "fixing" of the tribal polulation in the area*[118]. The participation particularly of the tribal elite in such trade also led to the accumulation of the resources under their control and to disparities in the distribution of wealth in a society characterized by absolute rank difference*[119]. All these processes led to the growth of stratification and state formation in Northern Karnāṭaka and Andhra.

We have seen earlier*[120] that in the opinion of scholars like Erdosy and Carter, the emergence of urban centres was intimately linked to the growth of stratification and the nascent state. Numerous excavated and explored sites in Northern Karnāṭaka betray the characteristic features of urban centres. Fortifications of Vaḍgaon - Mādhavpur (Belgaum district) and Udyāvara (South Kanara district)*[121] religious structures at Sannathi (Gulbarga district)*[122] and Vaḍgaon - Mādhavpur, Maski and Chadravalli (Chitradurga district)*[123] are indicative of their character as politico-religious centres with relatively high densities of population. Roman coins and artefacts as well as coins issued by the

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Perspective". Presidential Address, Ancient India Section, Indian History Congress, (1983) Burdwan Session, p. 30.

*117. S. Seneviratne, "Kalinga and Andhra...", loc. cit, p. 69. H. Kulke, Jagannatha Kult und Gajapati Konigtum, Wiesbaden, 1974, pp. 223-24 refers to a similar process in Bengal in the post - Gupta period.

*118. M. Mann, op. cit., p. 85.

*119. S. Seneviratne, "Kalinga and Andhra..." loc. cit., p. 69.

*120. Supra, Chapter. II, Section E.

*121. A. Ghosh (ed), Encyclopaedia of Indian Archaeology, Vol. I, 4. 18. 11, p. 150.

*122. Cited in R. S. Sharma, Urban Decay in India c. 300-C. 1000 AD, New Delhi 1987, p. 84.

*123. Ibid.

Sātavāhanas and their successors found at Vaḍgaon - Mādhavpur, Chandravaḷḷi and Brahmagiri attest to the fact that this area was intimately involved in long - distace trade. Widespread artisanal activity is suggested by the presence of beads and bangles, of glass, semi-precious stones, shell, ivory, clay and bone; of iron implements such as chisels, nails and flat bars*[124], and of bronze objects at most of the above mentioned sites. Minting appears to have been another craft of which Vaḍgaon-Mādhavpur appears to have been the centre*[125]. Apart from these, pottery of various types have been recovered in large numbers from these sites. The major ceramic wares consist of the Megalithic Black - and - Red, the Red polished ware, the slipped and plain red ware, black slipped ware and lastly, the Russet - coated painted ware which is diagnostic trait of the early historic phase in Karnāṭaka*[126]. In addition, specimens of the Roman Rouletted ware have also been found from such sites as Brahmagiri and Chandravalli*[127].

Banavāsi, whose urban character has been discussed earlier*[128] dates back to the early historic period. It was apparently a capital of the Sātavāhanas, the Cuṭukulānanda Sātakarnis and, in the beginning of the fifth century, the Kadambas. It retained its role as a political centre right through the early medieval period unlike Sannathi, Brahmagiri and Chandravalli which were apparently abandoned after the third centry AD*[129].

In Southern Karnāṭaka, lack of evidence makes generalisation on the socio-economic structure and the political organisaiton during the Megalithic and early historic phases hazardous. As we noted earlier, burial sites far out-number habitation sites particularly in the Eastern division comprising the Kōlār, Bangalore and Tumkur

*124. A. Ghosh, Encyclopaedia...op,. cit. Vol I., 4. 18.11, p. 150. This is in contrast to the Megalithic phase when weapons bulked large in the graves.

*125. R.S. Sharma, op. cit., p. 85.

*126. A. Ghosh, op. cit., Vol.I, 4.18.11, p. 150.

*127. R.S. Sharma, op. cit., pp. 84-86.

*128. Vide supra Chap.II., Section E.

*129. R.S. Sharma, op. cit., pp. 84-86.

districts[*130]. Following Leshnik's argument[*131], this might indicate the predominance of pastoralism in the economy. This is further supported by the fact that more than 50% of the lands in this region are covered by shrub vegetation supporting large herds of cattle, buffaloes, goat and sheep even today[*132].

However, agriculture, particularly paddy cultivation is also attested to. One of the sarcophagi at Jaḍigēnahaḷḷi (Bangalore district) was cushioned in a thirty cm thick deposit of rice husks[*133]. It may be recollected that the Neolithic pit dwellings at Doḍḍakoḍattūr (Kōlār district) also yielded burnt rice husks[*134]. Cultivation of rice thus has a long tradition in Southern Karnataka. A pastoral-cum-subsistence agriculture economy is thus indicated for the Eastern division.

In the Western division comprising Mysore, Manḍya, Coorg, Hassan Chikmagalūr and Shomoga districts, we have a large number of habitation sites as compared to the Eastern division. The majority of these sites, as noted earlier, are situated in the Kāvēri valley[*135]. This might indicate a primarily agrarian economy similar to that in the deltaic areas of Āndhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu. However, even if agriculture was the major component of the economy of this region, cattle and sheep herding too was probably significant[*136].

Apart from agriculture and stock breeding, considerable artisanal activity is also attested . At T. Narsipur, the Megalithic level has yielded substantial quantities of finely

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*130. A. Ghosh (ed), op. cit., Vol II.

*131. Supra, p. 119.

*132. Supra, Chap. II. Section A, p.9-10

*133. A. Ghosh (ed), Encyclopaedia of Indian Archaeology, Vol.II, Gazetteer. q.v. Jadigenahalli.

*134. Supra. p.117.

*135. The principal sites are T . Narsipur, Doḍḍahomma, Heḍathale, Kāveripuram, Suttūr, etc. A. Ghosh (ed), Encyclopaedia op.cit., Vol II.

*136. Supra, p.121, fn.91.

produced Black-and-red ware (BRW), the black polished and red-polished wares. Beads of terrocotta and semi-precious stones, glass bangles and few iron implements were also recovered[*137]. At Kendaṭṭi (Kōlār district) iron slag would indicate smelting activity[*138]. Gold mines at the Champion reefs at Kōlār have yielded Pale Grey ware and the BRW[*139]. This would indicate that the mines were worked from the Neolithic period onwards. This is further supported by the occurrence of gold bead in the Neolithic level at T. Narsipur[*140]. In the absence of extensive excavations it is unclear whether the gold mined were was used locally or was siphoned off in trade or as tribute to the metropolitian state as was the case in Northern Karnataka. We have seen earlier that blacksmiths were probably itinerant groups. H.P. Ray has plausibly suggested that other craft specialists were similarly organised[*141].

On the basis of the Śangam texts, we may conclude that production was Kinship-based with the nuclear household as the unit of production. These kinship units probably supported conical clan chiefdoms[*142] similar to those of the vēḷir chiefs in the peripheral areas of Tamil Nadu[*143]. Given the lack of evidence from our region, it is impossible to determine whether these chiefdoms were integrated at a higher level represented in Tamil Nadu by the Mūvēndar.

The early historic phase in southern Karnāṭaka does not appear to be markedly different from the preceding Megalithic culture. The Metropolitan state of the Mauryas

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*137. M. Seshadri, Excavation at T. Narsipur, Bangalore 1971, p.8

*138. A. Ghosh (ed), Encyclopaedia, vol. II., q. v. Kendatti.

*139. Ibid, q.v. Kolar.

*140. M. Seshadri, Excavation at T. Narsipur; Banglore 1971, p.7

*141. Vide supra, p.122.

*142. Vide supra, p.122-123.

*143. The ecology and economy of Southern Karnataka the Megalithic period is similar to that in the Kongu-Nilgiri region of Tamil Nadu.

apparently did not control this region. Hemmige is the only early historic site to have been excavated. In the opinion of the excavators, the site was not linked to "areas of developing economic activity" and was a rural settlement*[144].

No structural remains were found with the exception of a burnt brick piece and a few iron nails. The Megalithic BRW appears to have been the major ceramic industry together with red-slipped, red-polished and black-slipped pottery. Arretine and Rouletted pottery of Roman origin are conspicuous by their absence. Some artisanal activity is attested by the presence of bangle - pieces of shell, glass and bone, biconic hexagonal beads and quadrooned beads of glass, soapstone, shell and terracotta*[145]. These artifacts are not numerous as in the Northern Karnataka sites cited above. The iron objects found include a chisel, a small spear or arrow-head, a small flat knife, curved knife, dagger, a bar, rod and ring*[146]. The perdominance of offensive weapons in the assemblage apparently indicates the persistence of the megalithic politial order which was characterized by frequent predatory raids by chiefs on neighbouring settlements*[147]. This is further supported by the presence of sling balls in the Early Historic level at Hunugund*[148] (Kōlār district).

Several other Early historic sites can be so distinguished only by the presence of sherds of the Russet-coated painted ware characteristic of this phase*[149]. For lack of further evidence we can only conclude that they resembled Hemmige in being isolated rural settlements. The majority of these sites are situated in the Mysore district*[150].

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*144. S. Nagaraju and M.H. Rao. Excavations at Hemmige, Mysore, 1974., p. 74.

*145. A. Ghosh (ed), Encyclopaedia of Indian Archaeology Vol. II, Gazetteer, q.v. Hemmige.

*146. Ibid

*147. Vide supra, p. 122.

*148. A. Ghosh (ed), Encyclopaedia of Indian Archaeology Vol. II Gazetteer, q.v. Hunugund.

*149. A. Ghosh (ed), op.cit., vol. I. 4. 18. 11, p. 150.

*150. Ibid, q.v. Ambala, Ballur. Devarahalli. Gowdarahalli, Honnur, Huttu, Nallur, P.G. Palya, etc.

However, our area was not entirely insulated from outside influences. A hoard of Roman silver coins has been found at Bangalore indicating some involvement in long distance trade, however limited*[151]. In the north, Maḷavaḷḷi, Baḷḷigāve and Tālagunda in Shimoga district were the major early historic sites*[152]. Their position on the settlement hierarchy cannot be clearly determined from available evidence. However, the Tālagunda Pillar inscription of Śāntivarma Kadamba states that the Mahādēva temple at Sthānakundūr (same as Tālagunda) was patronized by Sātakarṇi and other kings. This would point to its inclusion in the Sātavahana domains*[153].

Available evidence would thus indicate that southern Karnāṭaka in the early historic phase enjoyed limited contacts with the neighbouring states in Northern Karnāṭaka and the proto-states in Tamil Nadu. Its involvement in long-distance trade is was minimal although it is possible that the gold mined in and around Kōlār was drawn into the trade nexus. The polity and economy of the period appears broadly similar to that attested for the preceding Megalithic phase. However, since the earliest available Gaṅga inscriptions reveal the existence of full-fledged agrarian settlements, particularly in the Eastern division, agriculture must have developed to a considerable extent during the early historic period, with several new crops being introduced*[154]. Given the "nagara" suffix applied to Kuvalāla (Kōlār) and Talakāḍ, incipient urbanisation may also be posited*[155].

It was with this background that the Gaṅgas emerged, the earliest attested royal dynasty of this region. In origin, they were possibly one of the chiefly clans of this region. They adopted all the trappings and insignia of royalty - a gotra and Kula affiliation, patronage of Brahminical Hinduism and heterodox faiths to legitimize their new - found

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*151. Ibid, q.v. Bangalore.

*152. Ibid

*153. EC VII (old ed) Sk 176 of the fourth-fifth centuries AD

*154. Vide Supra, Chapter II, Section C (vii), pp.65 ff

*155. Ibid Chap. II, Sec. E (iii)

authority and a royal court and administration modelled on those of their northern neighbours*[156].

In the case of their contemporaries, the Kadambas, the tribal origins are attested to by the Tālagunda Pillar inscription which state that the Kadambas acquired their name by tending the beautiful tree with Kadamba flowers growing on a spot near the residence of Mayūraśarma the progenitor*[157]. As R.N. Nandi points out, the tending of the totem tree, and the naming of the clan after the totem are characteristic features of totemic tribes*[158]. Mayūraśarma then is said to have raided the outlying territories of the Pallava Kingdom and occupied the forest tracts upto Śrīparvata. The Pallavas unable to subdue them enlisted them as feudatories and established them in a principality of their own*[159].

Emerging possibly from a similar background, the Gangas rose to be a sub-regional power of considerable importance, outlasting the Kadambas. The process of expansion of Ganga power shall be taken up in the next section.

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*156. Vide supra, pp 108. This will be further discussed in sections B and Chapter V, Section B.

*157. EC VII (old ed) SK 176, v. 7

*158. R.N. Nandi "Clan name and social mobility in the Deccan" in K.M. Shrimali (ed) Essays in Indian Art, Religion and Society (The History Congress Golden Jubilee year Publication series, vol. I, 1987, p. 110. DD Kosambi, An Introduction to the study of Indian History, Bombay 1975, pp. 326-27.

*159. EC VII (old ed) SK. 176, v. 19-21

## B)EMERGENCE OF THE GANGAS: THE EARLY PHASE

**(C. 350 A.D. to 725 A.D.)**

As we have seen in the absence of archaeological data, the state in Southern Karnataka appears rather abruptly on the stage with the rise to power of the Western Gangas towards the end of the fourth century AD. Their earliest base was probably located in the Kōlār area*[160]. By the close of the reign of Mādhavavarman I, purportedly the second ruler of the dynasty, they also controlled Paṟuvi viṣaya (the political unit centred on Parigi, Hindupur taluk, Anantapur district)*[161] and Kuḷungijya rājya (possibly located in the Kunigal taluk, Tumkur district)*[162] in addition to their original base in Kōlār. Neither Kongaṇivarma nor Mādhavavarman appear to have been subordinate to an external power. Indeed the Śāsanakōṭa plates state that Kongaṇivarman had established the kingdom by the strength of his arms (svabhuja - java - jaya - janita sujanajanapadasya)*[163].

The testimony of praśastis is to be taken with caution. In this case, at least two other successors of Kongaṇivarma can be cited to whom similar eulogistic phrases are applied*[164]. However, in the absence of contrary evidence, we may perhaps accept that Kongaṇivarman carved out a principality for himself in this region without external aid. It may be recollected that AR Baji was of the opinion that the Gangas established their

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*160. Vide Supra, Chapter III-A.

*161. K.V. Ramesh, Inscriptions of the Western Gangas, Delhi 1984, No. 1, Sasanakota plates.

*162. Ibid No.2, The identification of Kuḷungijya rājya with Kunigal is tentative.

*163. Ibid No. 1, 1.3.

*164. Mādhava Simhavarman of the Paṟuvi branch in the Penukoṇḍa plates, Ibid, No. 8, 1.9 and Mādhava II of the Talakāḍ branch in his Noṇamangala plates, Ibid No. 10, 1.14.

control over Southern Karnāṭaka as the subordinate allies of the Pallavas*[165]. But the available records of Mādhavavarman I do not indicate that he was a feudatory.

After Mādhavavarman I we have evidence of the existence of more than one branch of the dynasty. This issue of collateral branches, like almost every other aspect of early Ganga history is a subject of considerable debate. It was Joveau - Dubreuil who first suggested on the basis of the Beṇḍigānahaḷḷi*[166] and the Penukoṇḍa*[167] plates that two dynasties of the Gangas existed in this period, the Gangas of Talakāḍ and those of Paṟuvi.

The Talakāḍ branch included Harivarman, Viṣṇugōpa and Mādhavavarman II, while Mādhava Simhavarman and his son Kṛṣṇavarman belonged in his opinion to the Paṟuvi branch*[168]. With the discovery of other records of Kṛṣṇavarman and Simhavarman it became clear that Dubreuil was mistaken in his belief that Kṛṣṇavarman was the son of Simhavarman. It was, as Śrīkaṇṭha Śāstry pointed out the other way round*[169].

In 1924 with the discovery and publication of the Chukuṭṭūr Grant charter*[170], R. Shama Sastry suggested that a third branch of the dynasty, the Kaivāra had also existed, distinct from the Talakāḍ and Paṟuvi Gangas*[171]. In his opinion, Kṛṣṇavarman and his sons Simhavarman and Vīravarman belonged to the Kaivāra branch while Āryavarman and Mādhava Simhavarman who were mentioned in the Penukoṇḍa plates*[172] belonged to the Paṟuvi branch.

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*165. A.R. Baji, "Acarya Simhanandi.." loc. cit, p. 126-127; vide supra, section A.

*166. K.V. Ramesh, op. cit., No. 5.

*167. Ibid, No. 8.

*168. G. Joveau - Dubreuil, Ancient History of the Deccan, Pondicherry, 1917, p 105.

*169. S. Śrikaṇṭha Śāstry, Early Gangas of Talakāḍ, Mysore 1952. p. 12.

*170. ASMAR 1924. pp. 79-81 (K.V. Ramesh, op. cit., No. 7).

*171. ASMAR 1924, p. 17.

*172. K.V. Ramesh, op. cit No. 9

M.V. Krishna Rao opposed the views of both Joveau - Dubreuil and Shama Sastry. He points out that Harivarman is called Arivarman in his Tanjore plates*173.

Ayyavarman, the name of the father of Mādhava Simhavarman of the Penukoṇḍa plates, is merely the tadbhava form of Arivarma in his opinion. Moreover, Simhavarman is endowed with the same attribute of "Pitṛpaitāmahaguṇa - sampanna" in both the Chukuṭṭūr and the Penukoṇḍa plates. However, praśastis abound in such cliches as we have seen earlier. Similar hackeyed phrases have been applied to Mādhavavarman II of the Talakāḍ branch as well*174 without anyone identifying him thereby with Mādhava II of the Paṛuvi branch or with Simhavarman of the Kaivāra branch.

Joveau - Dubreuil's and Shama Sastry's views were also opposed by R.S. Panchamukhi and N.L. Rao. They stress the fact that the sons of both Āryavarman and Kṛṣṇavarman were named Simhavarman. They repeat the point made by M.V. Krishna Rao about Ayyavarman being the tadbhava form of Arivarman. Finally, they are of the opinion that Viṣṇugopa, the son of Harivarman in all subsequent Ganga records was the younger brother of Mādhava Simhavarman*175.

T.V. Mahalingam does not deal directly with this question. However, in his article on the relations of Pallava Simhavarman with the Karnāṭaka country, he suggests that Ayyavarman named his children after Pallava Simhavarman and his siblings and father.*176.

K.V. Ramesh too holds that the dynasty did not branch off. However, he does point out that the fact that Viṣṇugōpa is always said to be the son of Harivarman and not of

*173. IA VIII, p. 212

*174. K. V. Ramesh, op. cit., No. 10, Noṇamangala plates of Mādhava II, 1.12. "Pituranvāgata-guṇa-yuktēna".

*175. R.S. Panchamukhi and N.L. Rao, Karnatakada Arasumanetanagaḷu, Dharwar 1946, pp 119-120.

*176. T. V. Mahalingam, "Pallava Simhavarman and the Karnataka country," in the Journal of Karnataka University, Soc. Sc., Vol XII (1976).

Āryavarman or Kṛṣṇavarman throws doubt on the single line theory. Moreover, he holds that the Kūṭalūr plates describe Āryavarman as the eldest son of Mādhavarman I thereby suggesting that he had other brother*177. However, the word in the inscription is "aurasa putra"*178 which does not mean "eldest son" but merely "born of the lawfully wedded wife".

Sheik Ali holds that the dynasty branched off into three separate lines. But he adds to the prevailing confusion by ascribing the Penukoṇḍa and Beṇḍigānahaḷḷi plates first to Harivarman of the Talakāḍ branch*179 and then to Mādhava and Kṛṣṇavarman of the Paṟuvi branch*180. The confusion is further confounded when he states in the course of the same paragraph, first that Kṛṣṇavarma was the son of Mādhava, the younger brother of Harivarman, and then that he was the younger brother himself of Harivarman*181.

In sum, the Talakād branch appears to have had a distinct identity. K.V. Ramesh's remark concerning the consistency of their genealogical account may be recollected. Moreover, the Talakāḍ Gangas seem to have established their sway over the Western division. As we have noted earlier, Harivarman, the progenitor of the Talakāḍ branch was the earliest Ganga ruler to be associated with Talavaṇapura (Talakāḍ) whence all his extant records, albeit spurious, have been issued*182.

The Gangas of Paṟuvi and Kaivāra are less easy to distinguish. As Panchamuki and Rao pointed out, the sons of both Āryavarman of the Paṟuvi branch and Kṛṣṇavarman of the Kaivāra branch are named Simhavarman. Moreover both lineages, if indeed they were disinct from each other, were based in the Eastern division. While the Beṇḍigānahaḷḷi plates

*177. K.V. Ramesh, op. cit., Introduction, plv

*178. Ibid No. 9, Kūṭalur Inscription of Mādhava Simhavarman, 1.5

*179. B. Sheik Ali, op. cit., pp.44-46.

*180. Ibid., p. 46.

*181. Ibid

*182. Vide supra, Section A, p114, fn.55

of Krṣṇavarman indicate that he held sway over the Paṛuvi nāḍu*[183] the Penukoṇḍa plates attest to the control of Mādhava Simhavarman over the same division*[184] .Other records afford evidence for Kaivāra Ganga sway over Kaivāra viṣaya (Hosakōṭe taluk, Bangalore district)*[185] , Kuvalāla viṣaya (Kōlār and its neighbourhood)*[186] and Pērūra viṣaya (the Kongu region?)*[187] . The Paṛuvi Gangas on the other hand seem to have controlled Marukara viṣaya (Tumkur, Tiptur and Sira taluks of Tumkur district and the Doḍḍa - Baḷḷāpura taluk of Bangalore district)*[188] apart from Paṛuvi viṣaya.

The major factor supporting Shama Sastry's view that the Paṛuvi and Kaivāra branches were distinct is the fact that the Penukoṇḍa*[189] and Kūṭalūr plates*[190] of Mādhava Simhavarman of the Paṛuvi branch state that Āryavarman and his son Mādhava Simhavarman were anointed by the Pallava monarchs Simhavarman and Skandavarman respectively. None of the Kaivāra Ganga records, on the other hand, betrays the slightest sign of subordinate status. There is of course the possibility that Simhavarman and his younger brother Vīravarman were named after Pallava Simhavarman and his grandfather Vīravarman as suggested by Mahalingam. But if Simhavarman of the Kaivāra branch and Mādhava Simhavarman of the Paṛuvi branch were in fact identical, it is unclear why the monarch should admit his feudatory status so unambiguously in one set of records and

*183. K.V. Ramesh, op. cit., No. 5. 11. 15-17.

*184. Ibid, No. 8, 11. 14-16.

*185. Ibid, No.7, the Chukuṭṭūr Grant of Simhavarman. The location of Kaivāra viṣaya in Hosakōṭe has been tentatively suggested on the basis of later lithic records mentioning this unit-vide chap. II, Appendix I, No. 35-39.

*186. Ibid, No. 156. 11 12-14.

*187. Ibid No. 155; The Pērūr plates of Simhavarman clearly point to their sway over the Kongu region. The Kuḍiliyam grant charter (Ibid, No. 6) also refers to Pērūra viṣaya which is possibly to be located in the same region.

*188. Ibid, No. 9; ASMAR 1930, pp. 259-65.

*189. K.V. Ramesh, op. cit., No.8, 11. 7-8, 10-11.

*190. Ibid, No.9, 11. 1-2, 9

remain silent on the issue in others. When this discrepancy is coupled with differing accounts of parentage the conclusion that the two branches were distinct and separate becomes almost compelling. In that case it becomes clear that neither branch had a stable territorial base. The Kaivāra Gangas were apparently supplanted in Paṟuvi viṣaya by the rival branch of the Paṟuvi Gangas.

We have no further evidence for the existence of these two collateral branches of Kaivāra and Paṟuvi after the reigns of Mādhava Simhavarman and his namesake. Both were displaced by Mādhavavarman II of the Talakāḍ branch. The Chaluvanahaḷḷi plates of this monarch issued in the first year of his reign attest to his control over the old capital of Kuvalāla which Simhavarman of the Kaivāra branch had held earlier. In fact one of the pieces of wet land, Cakra-kēdāra, which had been granted by Simhavarman to Maṭrśarman of the Kāśyapa gotra*191 was regranted by Mādhavarman II to Divākara śarman of Vatsa gotra*192. Possibly this represented an attempt by the king to build up a loyal following among the influential brāhmaṇas in the newly conquered territory. As Kulke has observed royal grants to brāhmaṇas were "a means of establishing royal power and to extend it into outer areas which had not yet come fully under the control of the central authority"*193. If the Pērūr adhiṣṭhāna referred to in the Mēḷēkōṭe plates*194 is to be identified Pērūr in Coimbatore district as suggested earlier, it would indicate that Mādhavavarman II retained control of the Kongu country as well.

Apart from the Eastern division and the Kongu region, Mādhavavarman consolidated Ganga possessions in the Western division as well. The Koḍunjeṟuvu grant charter of his son and successor indicate that Mādhavavarman II entered into a matrimonial

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*191. Ibid, No. 156, Chaluvanahaḷḷi plates of Simhavarman 11. 12-15.

*192. Ibid, No. 157, Chaluvanahaḷḷi plates of Mādhava II, 11 16-18.

*193. Herman Kulke, Jagannatha Kult und Gajapati Konigtum, Weisbaden, p 224.

*194. K.V. Ramesh, op. cit., No. 11, 1.17, vide supra section A, p.110

alliance with the Kadambas*[195] as a result of which the Gangas appear to have gained possession of Sēndraka viṣaya, Vaḷḷāvi viṣaya-8000 and Dēvaḷige viṣaya*[196], units to be located in the Bēlūr - Chikmagalūr tract of the Western division and in Shimoga district. These areas had earlier been under the control of the Kadambas*[197].

In a similar fashion the Pāṇṇāḍa and Punnāṭa territories (covering the Heggaḍedēvanakōṭe and Nanjanagūḍu taluks of Mysore district) were added to Ganga dominions as a consequence of a matrimonial alliance with the king of Punnāṭa, Skandavarman, entered into by Avinīta. In the reign of Durvinīta the son of Avinīta by the Punnāṭa princess, the Punnāṭa territories reverted to the Gangas in the absence of a male heir*[198]. This appears to have taken place sometime after his fourth regnal year since subsequent records mention both that Durvinīta was the daughter's son of Skandavarma, king of Punnāṭa and the overlord of the Pāṇṇāḍa and Punnāṭa territories*[199]. To judge from the Kulagāṇa plates of Śivamāra I these territories retained a disinct identity at least until the reign of Śivamāra I (AD 679 - 725) since both Śivamāra and his predecessor Bhūvikrama are given the title of the lord of Pāṇṇāḍa and Punnāṭa janapadas*[200].

Unlike the Paṟuvi Ganga records, those of the Talakāḍ Gangas do not betray signs of subordination to an external power. However, the Hosakōṭe plates of Avinīta record the grant of a house and of lands to a temple of the Arhat caused to be constructed by the mother of Pallavādhiraja Simhaviṣṇu for the fame of her husband's family and her own merit, at Pulli-ūru in Koṟikunda bhōga*[201]. This politico - geographical unit was included in

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*195. Ibid No.15, Avinīta is described herein as the sister's son of Kṛṣṇavarma Kadamba, 11 14-15.

*196. EC VIII (new ed) Hn 10.

*197. EC V (old ed) Bl 121

*198. EC IV (new ed) Yl 167.

*199. The Uttanūr plates of the 20th regnal year of Durvinīta are the earliest to refer to this. K.V. Ramesh op. cit., No. 21. 11 21, 26.

*200. EC IV (new ed) Ch 347, 11. 14-17.

*201. K.V. Ramesh, op. cit, No. 14, 11 23-25.

the Ganga dominions. The record was issued by Avinīta and dated in his own regnal years*[202]. There is no other sign of his subordination to the Pallava. M.H. Krishna has suggested that the Pallava Queen Mother was possibly a Ganga princess*[203] and on that account constructed the Jaina shrine within Ganga dominions. This is possible but the inscription does not specify her relation to Avinīta. It is difficult to conclude from the evidence at our disposal as to the status of the Ganga monarch vis/a/vis the Pallavas.

Durvinīta's charters state that he fought victorious battles against his foes at Āndarya, Ālattūra, Porulaṟeya, Pernnagara, etc.*[204]. The adversaries are not specified. K.V. Ramesh has suggested that these battles were fought against his brother*[205] whom Avinīta had preferred and probably nominated his successor but from whom Durvinīta wrested the throne*[206]. Sheik Ali has modified this to suggest that Durvinīta's brother was supported in the succession struggle by the Pallavas while Durvinīta himself was aided by his son-in-law Vijayāditya Cāḷukya*[207].He bases this on the fact that all these battles appear to have been fought in either the Kongu country or in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam (Northern Tamil Nadu)*[208], the core of the Pallava realm.

If Ālattūr, Āndarya and other places are to be located in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam or in Kongu it is very possible that these battles were fought against the Pallavas. But there does not seem to be any basis to the suggestion that the Pallava aided Durvinīta's brother. As for the matrimonial alliance with the early Cāḷukyas, the evidence comes from one of the

*202. Ibid, No. 14, 1.21.

*203. ASMAR 1938, p 90.

*204. K.V. Ramesh op. cit, No. 21, 11. 23-24.

*205. Ibid, p 1 vii.

*206. Ibid, No. 21, 1.22 "Pitra parasuta - samāvarjitājapi Lakṣmyā svayam - abhipratyālingita - vipula - vakṣasthalēna".

*207. B. Sheik Ali, op. cit, pp. 64-65.

*208. Ibid.

Shimoga records*[209] and is not substantiated by contemporary Ganga or Cāḷukya records. Assuming that Durvinīta waged several campaigns against the Pallavas, the outcome of these battles is not stated. Durvinīta does claim victory but royal praśastis are not reliable on this point*[210].

Whatever the position of Avinīta and Durvinīta vis-a-vis the Pallavas and early Cāḷukyas, stereotyped phrases in their praśastis present them as overlords. Thus the Koḍunjeṟuvu grant charter states that Avinīta was implicitly obeyed by his feudal lords (asambhramāvanamita samasta - sāmanta - maṇḍalasya)*[211] while the Peṇṇa-ūr Grant inscription describes Durvinīta as one "whose feet were coloured by the tiara of the kings kneeling before him in fear"*[212]. Similarly, the Kiṟumoṟekoḷi grant charter of Muṣkara, his son and successor is described as having " feet which were adorned by the juice of the flowers of garlands adorning the heads of many lords of earth defeated by him"*[213].

A lithic inscription from Śerugunḍa (Chikmagalūr taluk, district), refers to a younger son of Nirvinīta (Durvinīta?) who was crowned with the Kongaṇi paṭṭa (crown) by Kāḍuvaṭṭi (Pallava) and Vallavarasa (the Cāḷukya)*[214]. It is possible that this younger son was identical with Polavīra whose Tagare plates*[215] relate to the same area as the Śeruguṇḍa inscription.

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*209. EC VIII (old ed) Nr 35 is cited by Sheik Ali in this context.

*210. K. Veluthat, "Monarchical power in Early Medieval South India: The Image and the Reality", Paper presented in Seminar on State in Pre-colonial South India held at J.N.U. in March, 1989. pp 22-23.

*211. K.V. Ramesh op. cit., No. 15, 1.17.

*212. Ibid, No.19, 11. 34 - 25.

*213. K.V. Ramesh, op. cit., No. 158, 11 33-35

*214. EC VI (old ed) Cm. 50, K.V. Ramesh for some unspecified reason opines that Kāḍuvaṭṭi here refers to the Nōḷamba, vide K.V. Ramesh, op. cit, No. 26, fn 2

*215. Ibid, No. 27.

From these records it is clear that a cadet line of the Gangas established itself in the Bēlūr - Chikmagalūr tract in a subordinate capacity although it is not apparent whether their overlords were the Pallavas or Cāḷukyas. We have no evidence, moreover to determine how long this collateral branch of the Gangas lasted. Muṣkara and his descendants continued to hold the southern part of the western division - the area around Talakāḍ, the Keregōḍu viṣaya (Maṇḍya district), the Punnāḍu and Pāṇṇāḍa territories*[216] together with the eastern division*[217].

Bhūvikrama and his younger brother and successor Śivamāra I were possibly the subordinate allies of the Cāḷukyas. Bhūvikrama (AD 609-679) was probably the Ganga king mentioned in the Aihoḷe inscription as having been subjected to Cāḷukya overlordship*[218]. This is not supported by the Bedirūr Grant charter of this monarch. However, Bhūvikrama claims to have defeated to Pallava king at Viḷande*[219]. While it is not clear whether this expedition was undertaken in cooperation with the Cāḷukyas, the Jangamārahaḷḷi inscription (Pāvagaḍa taluk, Tumkur district) indicates unambiguously that a Ganga contingent accompanied Vikramāditya II Cāḷukya when he invaded the Pallavas*[220].

On the other hand it is possible that the Gangas who were reduced to vassalage by the Cāḷukyas belonged to a collateral lineage. Certainly, the Ganga chief Mādhava who married Vikramāditya I's brothers' daughter*[221] cannot be identified with a prince of the main line of the Gangas.

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*218. EI VI p. 10, v. 19.

*217. K.V. Ramesh, op. cit. No. 28, the Kallūr inscription of Śrīvikrama (Śrinivāspur taluk, Kōlār district) and Bēdirūr Grant of Bhūvikrama, Ibid No. 29 indicate control over the Eastern division.

*218. EI VI p. 10, v. 19.

*219. K.V. Ramesh, op. cit., No. 29, v.1. 11 30-31.

*220. ASMAR 1941, p 220-221.

*221. ASMAR 1939, pp. 129-137 11.27-29.

Filiation was a continuous process. When Bhūvikrama was succeeded in AD 679 by his younger brother Navakāma Śivamāra I[*222] (AD 679-725), Bhūvikrama's descendants apparently set up a subordinate principality in the Chikka-Ballāpura taluk of Kōlār district. In 808 AD, the scion of this branch had acknowledged the suzerainty of Gōvinda III Rāṣṭrakūṭa[*223].

By AD 725, the Gangas held both the Eastern and Western divisions which together came to be designated the Ninety six thousand country (shaṇṇavati sahasra viṣaya) in the records of this period and later, as Gangavāḍi - 96000. Both conquest and matrimonial alliances were employed for territorial acquisition.

Even as the Gangas emerged as overlords in this territory, their own political status vis-a-vis the external powers, the Pallavas and Cāḷukyas, appears unclear. The Gaṅga records do not acknowledge the overlorship of any other dynasty but they appear to have cooperated with the Cāḷukyas in their campaigns against the Pallavas. The numerous collateral branches of the Gaṅga lineage for which we have evidence appear to have acknowledged the overlordship either of the sovereign branch of the Gaṅgas or of the Cāḷukyas and Pallavas.

The majority of these first phase inscriptions record grants of land and of whole villages to brāhmaṇas. In most cases, these charters merely state that the grant was made in accordance with the brahmadēya system[*224] (brahmadēya kramēṇa) which probably meant

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*222. Henige has argued that inscriptional genealogies generally practice collateral suppression. He consequently attacks the general assumption that genealogies are also king lists. However, Ganga copper plates are king lists since they incorporate all the rulers, collaterals included, who preceded the executors of the particular charter. David P. Henige "Some Phantom Dynasties of Early and Medieval India" in Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies Vol 38, No. 3, (1975) p. 538, 548-9.

*223. EC XVII CB 66.

*224. K.V. Ramesh, op. cit. No. 2, the Kaṇḍasāla grant No. 6, the Kuḍiliyam grant, No.7 the Chukuṭṭūr grant, No.8, the Penukoṇḍa plates etc.

that the granted land was constituted as a tax free holding*[225]. In some inscriptions however, the gift village is specifically said to have been freed from all hindrances (sarvaparihārai parihartavya). This is the case, for instance with the Beṇḍigānahaḷḷi plates of Vijaya-Kṛṣṇavarman*[226], the Noṇamangaḷa plates of Mādhavavarman II*[227] (Talakāḍ branch), and the Hosakōṭe plates of Avinīta*[228]. The Uttanūr plates*[229] and the Gummareḍḍipura plates*[230] of Durvinīta register gifts of villages which were free of thirty - two types of hindrances. (dvātriṁśat - parihāra - samanvita).

Ganga copper plates do not specify the exemptions covered under these blanket phrases - sarva - parihara and dvātriṁśat parihāra. Contemporary Kadamba records are more explicit on this score. Thus the Hiṭnahebbāgilu plates (Piriyapaṭna taluk, Mysore district) of Kadamba Vijaya Śiva Mṛgēśavarman register the gift of Kirunirilli village to Pingaḷasvāmi of Aupagahani gotra*[231]. The gift carried the privileges of abhaṭa - pravēśa (freedom from the entry of royal agents)*[232], antaṣkara - viṣṭikam (exemptions from internal taxes and forced labour)*[233] and parihṛta - pangōtkōṭam (exemption from all taxes and levies payable to the king)*[234]. Similarly, the Malavaḷḷi Pillar inscription records the grant of Somapaṭṭi, Konginagara, Vēgūr and several other places by Kadamba Śivaskandavarman to

*225. D.C. Sircar, Indian Epigraphical Glossary, Delhi 1966, q.v. brahmadēya.

*226. K.V. Ramesh, op.cit., No. 5, 1 18.

*227. Ibid No. 10, 11 20-21

*228. Ibid, No. 14, 1-30.

*229. Ibid. No. 21, 1.31

*230. Ibid. No.24, 1.35

*231. EC IV (new ed) pp. 49.

*232. Ibid 11.17- 18; vide D.C. Sircar, op. cit., q.v. a-bhata - pravēśya - Appendix I.

*233. Ibid, q.v. antahkara.

*234. Ibid, q.v. Panga, utkōta Panga is explained as one-fourth of produce sometimes collected from rent-free holdings of brāhmaṇas or deities while utkōta is customary presents made to the king.

the Mattapaṭṭi god. A - bhata - pravesa, samsiddhikam and sarva - parihāra are the privileges mentioned in this context. Samsiddhikam is unfortunately left unexplained*[235].

Likewise the Hireśakuna copper plates (Sorab taluk, Shimoga district) of Mṛgēśavarman Kadamba which record the grant of Kadaḷakaḷani grāma to a brāhmaṇa was declared free of all hindrances (sarva - parihāra) and was not to be entered by the royal agents such as bhatas (a - bhaṭa - pravēśa)*[236]. The Kūḍagere plates (Sagar taluk, Shimoga district) of Kadamba Vijaya Śiva Māndhatṛvarman which register the donation of twenty nivarttanas of wet land (Kēdāra) specify abhata - pravesam, antahkara - vistikam and sukhatvavasau- dana among the conditions of the grant*[237]. Sukhaṭvāvāsaudāna implied provision of cot and shelter to the king or landlord or to the touring officers*[238]. Finally, we have the Sorab copper plates of Vinayāditya Cāḷukya of AD 692 which record the grant of Sālivoge village in Eḍevōḷal viṣaya at the request of Citravāhana, the son of Guṇasāgara Āḷupēndra*[239]. The granted village was made free of all hindrances (sa - bādhā - parihāra)*[240] exempted from taxes (a - karam)*[241] and the entry of royal soldiers (a - bhaṭa - pravēśa). Moreover all taxes payable in cash were tranferred to the donee (sa - hiranyam)*[242].

Grants carrying such privileges created landed estates within which the royal writ no longer ran. Instead the beneficiaries gained control over the surplus produce of the land

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*235. EC VII (old ed) SK 264.

*236. EC VIII (old ed) Sb 33.

*237. EC VII (old ed) SK 29

*238. D.C. Sircar, op. cit., q.v. a-kura-cullaka-vainaśi-Khaṭv-āvāsa

*239. EC VIII (old ed) Sb 571.

*240. DC Sircar, op. cit., q.v. sarva - bādhā - parihāra and parihrta - sarva - pīḍā, free from all troubles

*241. Ibid, q.v. a - karam.

*241. Ibid, q.v. Sa-hiraṇya - ādāna.

in the form of taxes, in kind and in cash without any liability to pay taxes to the state*[243]. In Northern and Central India this had the effect of weakening the central authority and creating a class of landed intermediaries between the king and the peasants. However, in areas where state society was but newly established, Kulke has suggested that the function of the brāhmaṇa donees was "the propagation of the new ideal of Hindu Kingship and hierarchically structured caste society with the new Hindu rulers and priests at the top. In a modern sense they were also responsible for the erection of the whole infrastructure of the new Kingdom, particularly its administration"*[244]. This appears to be substantially correct so far as Southern Karnataka is concerned.

Brāhmaṇas had a significant representation at the Ganga court. A brāhmaṇa Sōmaśarman held the position of sarvarahasyādhikṛta (privy councillor)*[245] under Mādhavavarman I and is mentioned in both the Śāsanakōṭa plates*[246] and the Kaṇḍasāla grant inscription*[247] of that monarch as the scribe. Similarly, the Kuḍiliyam grant charter of Kṛṣṇavarman (Kaivāra branch) was written by Eragaśarman the sarvamantrādhikṛta*[248]. But it is the Keregalūr copper plates of Mādhavavarman II (Talakāḍ branch)*[249] which most strikingly bear out the significant role played by brāhmaṇa donees in administration.

*242. R.S. Sharma, "How feudal was Indian Feudalism" in H. Mukhia and T.J. Byres (ed) Feudalism and Non-European Societies, pp. 26-27.

*244. H. Kulke, Jagannatha Kult und Gajapati Konigtum, Weisbaden, 1979, p. 224.

*245. K.V. Ramesh, op. cit, No. 2, the Kaṇḍasāla grant, 1 21, also vide D.C. Sircar, Indian Epigraphical Glossary (I.E.G) q.v. rahasyādhikṛta.

*246. K.V. Ramesh, op. cit, No. 1, 11 23 - 24.

*247. Ibid, No.2, 1. 21

*248. Ibid, No. 6, 1. 28. In the opinion of K.V. Ramesh, sarvamantrādhikṛta refers to the same office as is signified by the designation sarvarahasyādhikṛta Ibid, p 6, fn 2.

*249. EC VIII (new ed) Hn 10.

This record registers the gift of five villages in Vaḷḷāvi - 8000 and tenth share of the taxes of Kirumuṇḍanīri nakara in Dēvaḷge viṣaya to twenty - two families of brāhmaṇas versed in the six duties and the study of the vēdas and employed within the palace enclosure (prāsāda - prākāra - baddhōdyōgāṇām), adept in counsel and the determination of the usage to be followed, acting as envoys, advising on making alliances of wars, determining with whom to ally and when to keep quiet after proclaiming war (vigrihyāsana), how to march forth to battle in combination with others and how to attack the enemy in the rear, skilled in the protection of the maṇḍala (kingdom), in wielding the implements of war, in the construction of fortresses, in governing rural areas (janapada), treasury (Kōśa) and urban areas (paura),... lords over men, protectors of varṇaśramadharma, chiefs, lords over Maṇigrāma śrēṇi and over the citizens of the four subordinate districts (catuh - sāmanta - dēśa) of Ṭegure, Amanīya, Nandyāla and Sīmbāla,... adept in sacrifices to the gods and the manes, deeply versed in the Ṛg and Yajur Vēdas, in uttering the words purified by sacred formulae, engaged in congregational services, and lords over the merchants of the Tuviyal group ("Tuviyāl - śrēṣthi - sarvādhyakṣa")*250.

Apart from being described in customary terms as being well-versed in the Vēdas, the donees of this record were also rulers of subordinate districts and the King's advisers owing to their administrative expertise. The present charter had the effect of further extending their domain.

It is probably the same group of brāhmaṇas or their descendants who are referred to in the Koḍunjeṟuvu grant charter of Avinīta as the cāturvaidyas and other important personages (pardhāna - puruṣa) belonging to Maṇiyaḍegure, Nandiyāla, Sīmpāla, Nandaṟe, Madaṇḍa, Muḷcoṟompi, Maṇali, Marugaṟe, Gamjenāḍu, Nirguṇra, Celle, Veḷgōḷa and Sēndraka*251 Viṣayas. The first four units mentioned are the same as those mentioned in the Keregalur copper plates. The people of these districts, together with the cāturvaidyas are again mentioned in the Sāliggāme charter of Durvinīta as the witnesses to the gift*252.

*250. Ibid, ll. 11-16, 21 -28 Translation on p 593.

*251. K.V. Ramesh, op. cit., No. 15 11 26-28.

*252. Ibid, No. 23, 11.33-34. "Ṭegureyarum Maṇiyarun - Nandyālarum Sīmbālarum cāturvaidyarum aṟiye".

Likewise, the mahāmanuṣyas of Maṇiya, Ṭegure, Asimbāla, Nandiyāla, etc. and the cāturvaidyas are cited as witnesses to the Nallālam grant of the fortieth year of the reign of Durvinīta*[253].

It is not altogether clear whether the mahamanusyas and pradhāna puruṣas of these units were identical with the caturvaidyas who are mentioned conjointly with them on each occasion.

Cāturvaidyas were probably brāhmaṇas versed in all four Vēdas. This is brought out by the Sisavai charter of Gōvinda III Rāṣṭrakūṭa which mentions Viṣṇucaturvedin who is said to belong to a family of cāturvidyas*[254]. Another record of the same monarch registers a grant to Bhaṭṭa Riṣiyappa who belonged to a family of Traividyas which the editor, V.B. Kolte interprets as signifying knowledge of three Vedas *[255]. At all events, the cāturvaidyas had a salient presence in the court of Mādhavavarman II(Talakāḍ branch ) and his immediate successors.

It is perhaps no coincidence that it is precisely Mādhavavarman II of the Talakāḍ branch, his son Avinīta and grandson Durvinīta who are described in their praśastis as maintainers of the ideal brahmanical social order, the varṇāśramadharma. In classical epic sources, the maintenance of varṇāśramadharma was ensured by the administration of daṇḍa nīti generating prosperity in the Kingdom. Its neglect was thought to bring on the Kali age with its concomitant unrighteousness, varna - samkara and natural calamities*[256]. It is in this context that the praśastis of these three early Ganga monarchs have to be viewed. Thus, the Noṇamangaḷa plates of Avinīta laud Mādhavavarman II as having been "ever engaged inthe task of uplifting righteousness which had been submerged in the mud and

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*253. Ibid No. 25, I.36 "Maṇiyaṭegure - Asimbāla - Nandyālādyanēka Mahāmanuṣya pratyakṣam Sakala - cāturvaidya samakṣam".

*254. EI XXIII, p. 205.

*255. EI XXXII, No. 18, p.

*256. K.M. Ganguli (translation), The Mahabharata of Krishna Dvaipāyana Vyāsa, 4th (ed), New Delhi 1981, Vol. VIII, Śānti Parva, Sec. 69, P. 154.

mire of the Kali Age. (Kaliyuga - balāvamagna - dharmoddharaṇa - nitya - sannadhasya)*[257]. Avinīta himself is described in the same record as being "alert in administering his Kingdom and the very Yudhiṣṭhira of this age". (Prajā-paripālana - Kula parikara - bandhēna - kim bahunā idam - kāla Yudhiṣṭhirēṇa)*[258]. Durvinīta's copper plate charters describe him not merely as the Yudhiṣṭhira*[259] or Māndhāta*[260] of this age but state that he was "as good as Manu in meting out proper punishments and was the protector of castes and the various stages of life" (Yathārha-daṇḍatayānukṛta Vaivasvatena Varṇāśramābhi rakṣiṇā)*[261].

Another aspect of the royal image where brahminical influence is clearly discernible is in claims to the performance of yajñas such as the hiraṇyagarbha and the aśvamēdha. The performance of these sacrifices was a time - honoured method by which kings could claim Kṣatriya status and overlordship. In regions undergoing the trasition from the pre-state to the state society stage, the performance of the hiraṇyagarbha particularly, lent respectability to the nascent ruling lineages*[262]. Unlike their contemporaries, the Pallavas and the Kadambas, the Gangas by and large do not make such claims. But the Koḍunjeṟuvu grant of Avinīta and all succeeding Ganga copper plate charters conspicuously refer to his relation to Kṛṣṇavarman Kadamba "whose body had been bathed in the waters of the uninterrupted horse - sacrifies he had performed (avichinn - āśvamēdha - āvabhṛtha - abhiṣikta)*[263].

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*257. K.V. Ramesh, op. cit., No. 12, 1.15.

*258. Ibid, 11. 19-20.

*259. Ibid, No.18, 1.37.

*260. Ibid, No. 20, 1.38.

*261. Ibid, No. 18. 11. 34-35.

*262. K.Veluthat, "Monarchical Power in Early Medieval South India; the Image and the reality", March, 1989 pp. 17-18; D.D. Kosambi, Introduction to the study of Indian History, Bombay, 2nd ed., 1975; Reprint 1988, p. 318, 343-44.

*263. K.V. Ramesh, op. cit, No. 15, 11. 14-15.

The first reference to a Ganga having performed sacrifices comes from the Nallālam grant of Durvinīta's fortieth regnal year. This record states that Durvinīta "had performed every year numerous special religious sacrifices and had been anointed by the waters of the great sacrifice called hiraṇyagarbha"*[264]. Strangely, this claim is not repeated in any subsequent Ganga record. The same fate, it may be recalled, had overtaken Durvinīta's innovative claim to Vṛṣṇi ancestry made in his Gummareḍḍipura plates, also issued in the fortieth year of his reign*[265].

Thereafter, as Kosambi points out, the tulāpuruṣadāna and similar mahādānas become commoner than the hiraṇyagarbha*[266]. This is borne out by the Agaḷi grant of Śrīpuruṣa Ganga of AD 748 which state that "the interior of his palace echoed the sounds of the religious ceremonies accompanying the great gifts made by him everyday"*[267].

After Śrīpuruṣa, no Ganga monarch claims to have performed these rites. This corroborates the point made earlier about the brahmanical influence being at its zenith in the reigns of Mādhavavarman II and his successors. Subsequently, the Purāṇic bhakti ideology gained the upper hand*[268].

Although the majority of the first phase records are brahmadēya grants, inscriptions registering service tenure grants are not unknown. Thus, the Kallūr insription (Srinivaspur taluk, Kolar district) of Śrīvikrama Ganga of the sixth to the seventh centuries AD, registers a blood grant (nettar paṭṭi) of one Kaṇḍuga of sowable paddy field to Pabhbhu who died in a battle while attempting to take Rakkasanūru*[269]. K.V. Ramesh is of the

*264. Ibid, No. 25, I 32. "vividha - viśiṣṭa - yajñena Hiraṇyagarbhasya yajñasya - āvabhṛtha - salīla - dhārābhiṣiktasya".

*265. Ibid, No. 24, 1 31; vide supra, Sec. A, p105 ,fn. 7.

*266. D.D. Kosambi, op. cit., p. 343-44, fn 8.

*267. K.V. Ramesh, op. cit., No.42, 11.34-325 "Tēna-pratidina-pravṛtta-mahādāna-janita-puṇyāhaghōṣa-mukharita-mandirōdarēṇa".

*268. Infra, Chapter VI.

*269. K.V. Ramesh, op.cit., No. 28.

opinion that nettar paṭṭi is the Kannada equivalent of raktamānya*[270] which has been interpreted as an endowment of rent - free land for the support of the descendants of warriors killed in battle*[271]. Such grants became a legion in the second phase when they were designated as kalnāḍu (alternatively Kalnāṭu) and bāḷgaḷchu.

The Bēdirūr grant of Bhūvikrama (from Yadarūr, Śrīnivāspur taluk, Kolar district) dated AD 634-35 registers the gift of the village Bēdirūr in Hodaḷi viṣaya to Vikramāditya gāvuṇḍa who is designated the lord of Kōlāla viṣaya (Kōlār) and described as a sat-śūdra. The donee is described as the Kings' valiant solider (mama vīra bhaṭa)*[272].

Vikramāditya gāvuṇḍa thus appears to have been a vassal of Bhūvikrama, rendering military services to his overlord. The present charter extended his domains by adding to his lordship, Hodali viṣaya. Incidentally, it is interesting to note that Kōlār which was the original core of the Ganga Kingdom was now under the control of a feudatory. Perhaps this represents parts of the shift in the locus of the Ganga kingdom from the Eastern to the Western division. Also noteworthy is the peasant extraction of the donee as is indicated by the title of gāvuṇḍa*[273].

Apart from these, we have several incidental references to feudatories who held various territorial units as their domains. The Beṇḍigānahaḷḷi plates of Vijaya Kṛṣṇavarman (Kaivāra branch) is the earliest available record to do so. This inscription registers the gift of Kuru - ūra village in the Peraṭi bhōga which was a subdivision of Paṟuvi viṣaya to Mātṛśarman. Peraṭi sēnāpati is said to have been instrumental in making the grant (pradāpayat)*[274]. K.V. Ramesh is of the opinion that Peraṭi was not likely to be the proper name of the person holding the office of the sēnāpati but was possibly used to designate the

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*270. Ibid, p. 110, fn. 1.

*271. D.C. Sircar, op. cit., q..v. Raktamanya.

*272. K.V. Ramesh, op. cit., No. 29, 11, 35 - 38. "Kōlāla viṣayādhiparasa purvīnām sat - śūdrah.... Māragāvuṇḍan tasya sūnuh mama vīrabhaṭa Vikramāditya gāvuṇḍasya Hodaḷi viṣaye Bēdirūr mayā dattam".

*273. F. Kittel, A Kannada - English Dictionary, q.v. gāvuḍa

*274. K.V. Ramesh, op. cit., No. 5, 11. 12 - 18

commander in charge of the Perați bhōga*[275]. The same record mentions Mātṛvarman, the son of Carakki - Murasa - Kella the writer of the copper plates*[276]. Kella was the surname of a chiefly family from the Kanara and Konkan coast*[277].

The Chukuṭṭūr grant of Simhavarman (Kaivāra branch) refers to Apāpa the lord of Bāṇapura as the writer of the record*[278]. The same individual is mentioned in the same capacity in the Koḍunjeṟuvu grant charter of Avinīta also*[279]. Similarly, the Mēḷekōṭe plates of Mādhavavarman II (Talakāḍ branch) were written by Cārudatta sēnāpati*[280].

It is the Sāliggāme grant of Durvinīta which is the most informative in this context. This record enumerates Pērbbāna - Muttarasar, Sīyavallavarasar, Petta - ella - sāmantar and Attāṇi as witnesses. *[281]. A similar list of witnesses in the Kulagāṇa plates, which register grants of land to the caitya at Kellipūsūr, includes the Twelve of Kellipūsūr, the corporate body of its inhabitants, the Five sāmantas (Aysāmanta) and the Four Attāṇi (Nāḷattāṇi)*[282]. Likewise, the Tagare plates of Polavīra mentions Kannēlarasa as a witness together with the Mahājanas of Ānandūra and Sikkamba*[283].

While Perbbāṇa Muttarasa, Sīyavallavarasar and Kannēlarasa were clearly subordinate rulers*[284] as were the Five Sāmantas*[285], it is not altogether clear who the

*275. Ibid, p. 17, fn 7.

*276. Ibid, No. 5, ll. 25 - 26.

277. Ibid, p. 18, fn 1

278. Ibid, No. 7, 1.27

279. Ibid, No. 15, 1.31.

280. Ibid, No. 11, 1.81

281. Ibid, No. 23, LL 33-35 "Perbbāṇa Muttarasarum Sīyavalla varasarum, aṟiye Petta-ella-sāmantarum Attāṇiyum sākṣi"

282. EC IV (new ed) Ch 347. L. 21. "adarke sākṣi Kellipūsūr Pannirvarum ay sāmantarum Nāḷattāṇiyum."

283. K.V. Ramesh, op. cit, No. 27, l. 11-12.

284. F. Kittel, op. cit, q.v. arasa - king; lord; the Tadbhava form of rāja.

Attāṇi were. Some eighth century records from Kōlār district refer to individuals named Attāṇi. The first from Meḍutambihaḷḷi (Kōlār taluk) registers a grant of land made by Jeṭṭān , the ruler of Puttūr to Attāṇi of Puttūr*[286]. Another record from Meḍutambihaḷḷi features Attāṇi of Puttūr in the capacity of a donor, in association with Pettarasa. Gifts of land and a house were made to the dependents of a hero who had died in a cattle raid in which the people of Puttūr appear to have participated*[287]. Likewise, the Balla inscription (Muḷbāgāl taluk, Kōlār district) of the close of the eighth century registers the gift of rice fields to a cowherd. The donors were Attāṇi and Māsarakuṭṭiyaru who were pleased at the valour of the hero*[288]. From available evidence then, the Attāṇi appear to have been local notables who were initially involved as witnesses in the royal grants and later donated lands themselves.

Other references to subordinates come from the Bēdirūr Grant of Bhūvikrama which mention two daṇḍādhipas as executors of the grant (ittham kṛtam)*[289]; the Navalai inscription of his successor Śivamāra I (from Harūr taluk, Dharmapuri district), which refers to the rule of Kanda Vaṇṇādiyaraiyar over Puṟamalai Nāḍu*[290]; the Haḷḷegere plates (Maṇḍya taluk, district) of the same monarch which register the grant of a village of the request of Jayavṛddhi and Pallavādhirāja, the sons of Pallava yuvarāja*[291] and finally, the Kulagāṇa plates which mention Kaṇṇamman of Gañje nāḍu as the ruler of Koḍugūr nāḍu; the voygas of Oramkal and Simpāl who were together ruling Tuppūr and the Pallava crown prince (Pallavēlarasa) as the donors*[292]. The references to the Pallava crown prince in the

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*285. D.C. Sircar, op. cit, q.v. samanta, title of feudatory rulers; feudatories smaller than raja, a subordinate chief.

*286. EC X (old ed) Kl. 229.

*287. Ibid, Kl 232.

*288. Ibid, Mb 92

*289. K.V. Ramesh, op. cit., No.29, l. 59.

*290. Ibid, No. 30.

*291. EC VII (new ed) Md 35, ll. 24 - 25

*292. EC IV (new ed) Ch 347, ll. 27 - 28

Hallegere and Kulagāna plates is interesting. It is possible that this prince was taken hostage by the Gangas during their campaign against the Pallavas which was undertaken by Bhūvikrama*293. The voygas on the other hand appear to have been drawn from the local elite. K.V. Ramesh is of the opinion that voyga was a corruption of the Sanskrit bhogya and was used in the sense of bhukti in Kannada epigraphs. Thus, the voygas of Oramkal and Sīmpāl probably enjoyed the income from those places and were, in addition the joint administrators of Tuppūr*294. Kaṇṇamman of Gañjenāḍu possibly had a similar origin and was, additionally the ruler (āl) of another nāḍu*295.

It is noteworthy that while initially, the courtiers whether brāhmaṇa or non-brāhmaṇa, were associated with royal grants only as executors or writers or witnesses , they were themselves donating land towards the close of the first phase, albeit with the King's permission. A similar point is made by Dirks in his study of Pallava political and social structure. He has bifurcated the Pallava reign period into two phases, the first lasting from the third to the seventh centuries AD and the second from the seventh to the tenth on the basis of changes in ritual. The first phase, in his opinion was marked by the pre-eminence of yajña as the constitutive royal ritual - it not merely legitimised the king's rule but gave him the status of suzerain. Similarly, the political personages of the realm were constituted in their positions by their role in the royal dāna. The king's relatives made grants themselves, the courtiers received particular titles as a result of their executing or transmitting the royal grant, while a third category of chiefs gave expression to their subordination by their acquiescence to the royal grant. In the second phase, however, descent (vamśa) rather than yajña became the principle on which sovereignty was claimed even though dāna too continued to be an expression, in his opinion, of overlordship. However, in the second phase the vassal chiefs are identified by name, the territory ruled by them are mentioned and they become participants in the royal grant instead of a mere

*293. EC VII (new ed) Md 35, v. 2, ll. 23 - 25

*294. K.V. Ramesh, op. cit, No. 35, p 139, fn 3

*295. Ibid, L. 28

executor by requesting (vijñapti) the king to make the grant. This in Dirks' view amounts to shared sovereignty between the king and the chief*[296].

The significance of yajñas, the predominance of the brahminical idiom in the royal praśastis of the first phase, and the possible use of the royal gifts as an integrative device have been noted earlier in the context of southern Karnāṭaka. That the subordinate chiefs are mentioned in the first phase records only in the context of the royal gift cannot be denied. But to conclude from this that their political position was constituted by the nature and degree of their participation in the king's gift - giving ritual would be to take an over - restricted view of early medieval polity. The evidence from Southern Karnāṭaka indicates fairly unambiguously that the subordinate chiefs had their own domains. Whether they were agents of the centre delegated to the periphery to ensure continued control, or were autochthonous chiefs subjugated militarily is not quite clear*[297].

Moreover, in Southern Karnāṭaka at least, state society was first introduced under the aegis of the Gaṅgas and their brāhmaṇa allies. They introduced to the autochthonous peoples here a highly Sanskritized and brāhmaṇical culture, as indicated by the earliest Ganga charters. With growing acculturation and the spread of literacy, more and more of the emergent tribal elite appropriated royal symbols and modes of political control*[298]. These included issue of genealogies and king lists, participation in gift giving, etc. This would explain the increased frequency of references to subordinate chiefs towards the close

*296. Nicholas Dirks, "Political Authority and structural change in South Indian History" in Indian Economic and Social History Review, Vol. XIII, (1976), No. 2, pp 142 - 157.

*297. Michael Mann, op. cit, p 143 - 44 points out that the logistical problems precluded direct control over the entire territory from the centre and this necessitated either rule through the conquered local clients or the dispersal of the army commanders and troops over the realm.

*298. M.T. Larsen "Introduction: Literacy and social complexity" in J. Gledhill, B. Bender and M.T. Larsen (ed) State and Society: The Emergence and Development of Social Hierarchy and Political Centralization, London 1988, pp 187 - 188

of the first phase. Also significant is the fact that most of these references occur in the grant portion of the copper plate charters which increasingly were in the vernacular. In the second phase, such vernacular inscriptions predominated numerically, with the local chiefs and notables making grants, often without referring to their overlord. Their role was not then, restricted to vijñapti.

By the beginning of the eighth century, then, the Gaṅgas had emerged as a sub-regional power of some importance. They were overlords to an array of subordinate chiefly lineages such as the Nōḷambas and Bāṇas, while they themselves were possibly subordinate allies to the Cāḷukyas of Vātāpi.

## C) CONTEST FOR HEGEMONY

**(A.D. 725 to AD 1030)**

The second phase may be said to have begun with Śrīpuruṣa. Early in his reign (AD 725 - 788), a Ganga contingent led by his son Duggamāra Ereyappor joined Vikramāditya II Cālukya in his campaign against the Pallava ruler, Paramēśvaravarman*[299]. This was but one of several Ganga campaigns against the Pallavas which marked the reign of Śrīpuruṣa. In one of these Paramēśvaravarman was apparently slain*[300]. One of the Shimoga records state that the Gangas then appropriated the traditional Pallava title of Permānaḍi*[301]. However, a perusal of Ganga records shows that it was under Satyavākya Rācamalla I that the title of Permānaḍi*[302] came to be applied to the Gangas. However, certain lithic inscriptions*[303] apply the sovereign titles of Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara bhaṭāra to Śrīpuruṣa as do the Agaḷi Grant*[304] and the Dēvarahaḷḷi plates*[305].

Nevertheless, the titles of Mahārāja and Pṛthvī - Kongaṇi Mahārāja too continued to be applied. It was again Rācamalla I who was consistent in his use of sovereign titles.

The contest with the Pallavas does not seem to have resulted in territorial acquisitions for long. Śrīpuruṣa possibly gained some territory upto Peṇkulikoṭṭai in the early years of Nandivarman Pallavamalla with the aid of a minor Ganga chieftain and a Bāṇa. However, this territory (around Kuliḍikki, in modern Guḍiyāṭṭam taluk, North Arcot district) was wrested by the Pallava monarch sometime in the middle of the eighth century.

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*299. Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy (ARIE) 1943-44; Inscription No.22 f, p.90

*300. K.A. Nilakantha Sastri, A History of South India, p. 154.

*301. EC VIII (old ed) Nr 35.

*302. K.V. Ramesh, op. cit., No. 90, ll. 103-104

*303. EC X (old ed), Mb 80; EC IV (new ed) Ch 126, K.V. Ramesh, op. cit, No. 53.

*304. K.V. Ramesh, op cit. No. 42 L. 43 although L. 35 applies the more humble title of Pṛthvī - Kongaṇi Mahārāja

*305. EC VII, (new ed), Ng 149, l. 59

The minor Ganga chief in actual control was slain and the Bāṇa acknowledged Pallava suzerainty*[306].

Pāṇḍyan records indicate that the Gaṅga hold over the Kongu region was threatened by a Pāṇḍyan invasion in which the Gangas and their Cāḷukyan ally were worsted. Peace was apparently concluded by a matrimonial alliance in which a Gaṅga princess was given in marriage to Pāṇḍya Rājasimha's son*[307].

It is not altogether clear whether the Gangas retained Kongu after this. The Salem plates of Śrīpuruṣa which are dated AD 771 and record the grant of village Komaramangala in Pudukanda viṣaya (to be situated in the Kongu region) as a brahmadeya for the benefit of Indarāja, the brother of Kāñciyabbā, the queen of Duggamāra Eṟeyappa, the son of Śrīpuruṣa*[308], would indicate that Kongu deśa remained part of the Ganga domians. This inscription clearly postdates the Pāṇḍyan war in which the Cāḷukyas too are said to have been involved. By AD 771 the Cāḷukyas had been overthrown and replaced by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.

With the accession of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, a lengthy struggle to reduce the Gangas to submission commenced, which was to be the predominant theme of Ganga history for the next two centuries. The Tāḷegaon plates of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa I were issued from Mānyapura, a Ganga capital under Śrīpuruṣa and attests to the initial success of the expedition. As Mann has pointed out the army in its march usually managed to conquer wide territories which, however, could not be controlled effectively from the centre owing to logistical constraints once the campaign was over. It was perhaps this compulsion that induced most sovereigns to remain in almost perpetual campaigning motion*[309].

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*306. EI XXII, pp. 110 ff.

*307. K.A.N. Sastri, op.cit, p. 156.

*308. K.V. Ramesh, op. cit. No. 47, ll.43-45; 47-54.

*309. M. Mann, op. cit. p. 142, 145.

Hence the inscriptional references to skandhāvāras. The Nandi plates of Śrīpuruṣa himself were issued from the royal camp at Pērūr*[310] while the Agaḷi Grant was made when he was stationed at the victorious camp at Koṇigil nagara. (Konigil - nagaram adhivasati vijaya skandhāvāre)*[311]. Likewise, the Jāvaḷi plates of AD 750-51 were issued from the victorious camp at the village Maṇṇe*[312] (Nelamangala taluk, Bangalore district). It was this village Maṇṇe, which was later renamed Mānya nagara, that grew to be a major centre of Ganga power under Śrīpuruṣa. As mentioned earlier, the Tāḷegaon plates of Kṛṣṇa I*[313] were issued from Mānyapura in AD 768 betokening the success of his expedition. However his progress through Ganga domains was not unopposed. Several inscriptions from Tumkur district indicate that the feudal levies of the Gangas were mustered in defence*[314]. Among the feudatories participating in these battles with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas at Piñchanūr and Bāgeyūr we may mention Sīyagella the ruler of Marugaṟe nāḍu -300*[315], Muttarasa, Nāgatarasa*[316], Jaḍiya Muttarasa*[317], Kittarasa and Pulikkaḍa - arasa*[318] Marugaṟe nāḍu and Kesumaṇṇu nāḍu both of which were ruled by Sīyagella apparently bore the brunt of the invasion, since the majority of the Hireguṇḍagal hero stones record the death of his retainers.

Kṛṣṇa I does not appear to have retained any part of Gangavāḍi after his return to his own dominions. Dhruva Rāṣṭrakūṭa and his successor Gōvinda III were more successful in this regard. Dhruva's invasion is to be dated to the post 788 AD period, during the reign of Śivamāra II who had succeeded Śrīpuruṣa after a fratricidal struggle with Duggamāra

*310. K.V. Ramesh, op. cit., No. 41, ll. 6-7

*311. Ibid, No. 42, l. 37.

*312. EC VI (old ed) Mg 36, l. 37.

*313. EI XIII, No. 25, pp 275-80

*314. EC XII (old ed) Mi 99 "Gangavāḍiyamēge Raṭṭar ēḷa... samasta prabhṛtigaḷge Kēḷi vandu..."

*315. ECXVI (rev. ed) Tm 86, 87, 95, 94, 93, 99, 96, 91, 88.

*316. EC XVI(rev. ed) Tm 95

*317. EC XII (old ed) Mi 99

*318. EC XVI (rev. ed) Tm 91

Eṛeyappa[*319]. The invasion ended disastrously for Śivamāra since he was captured and imprisoned[*320]. The Maṇṇe plates of his son Yuvarāja Mārasimha claim that he defeated the cavalry of Dhora (Dhruva) at Mudugundūr[*321]. Even if this is accepted the overall result of Dhruva's campaign was that the Ganga domains passed into Rāṣṭrakūṭa hands and Stambha Raṇāvalōka, Dhruva's son was placed in charge of them[*322].

After the abdication or death of Dhruva[*323], a succession dispute developed in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa empire between Gōvinda III, his nominated successor and Stambha Raṇāvalōka, the governor of Gangavāḍi. Govinda III thereupon released Śivamāra[*324] and crowned him together with Nandivarman Pallava, a fact mentioned in the Maṇṇe plates of Mārasimha[*325]. But when Śivamāra threw his lot with Stambha Raṇāvalōka, he was recaptured and imprisoned once more[*326]. Raṇāvalōka, though defeated by Gōvinda continued to rule Gangavāḍi until at least AD 808, the date of the Badaṇeguppe grant[*327]. He was succeeded by a Rāṣṭrakūṭa feudatory, Cākirāja by name, whose Kaḍaba plates designate him as adhiraja of Ganga Maṇḍala. Cākirāja's nephew, Vimalāditya of the Cāḷukya vaṃśa, was ruling Kuṇungil deśa under him[*328]. The Rāṣṭrakūṭas were thus building up their own support base in Southern Karnāṭaka.

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*319. ASMAR 1929, p. 104, No. 37. perhaps refers to this struggle for succcession.

*320. ASMAR 1926, p.88.

*321. K.V. Ramesh, No. 49, ll. 57-58

*322. ASMAR 1926, pp 87-88

*323. A.S. Altekar, The Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their Times, Poona 1937, p. 60-61

*324. EC III (new ed) Nj 278, ll. 30-31

*325. K.V. Ramesh, op. cit, No. 49, ll. 64-66.

*326. EC III (new ed) Nj 278, ll. 30-33.

*327. Ibid

*328. EI IV, No.49 pp 338-49

However, the Gangas retained some pockets. The Yuvarāja Mārasimha, son of Śivamāra II, apparently held territory around Mānyapura*[329] and perhaps the Paṟuvi viṣaya*[330] as well. An inscription from Marase (Mysore taluk, district) registers a grant to the goddess Bhagavati set up there by Bijāyta*[331]. He has been identified with Vijayāditya, the younger brother of Śivamāra II by the editor of the Mysore Archaeological Survey Report*[332]. It was his son, Rācamalla I who "freed his kingdom of the occupation of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and thereby regained mastery over his own hegemony and won fame"*[333] in AD 819. However, it would seem that a portion of the Ganga domains remained with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa feudatory Bankēśa*[334].

Rācamalla I strengthened his political base by entering into matrimonial alliances with the Nōḷambas. Rācamalla himself married the younger sister of Nōḷambādhirāja Pōḷalcōra and gave his daughter Jāyabbe in marriage to him*[335]. The Nōḷambas now became the feudatories of the Gangas, having earlier been the vassals of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas*[336]. A record from Kōlār refers to the rule of Nōḷambādhirāja over Ganga - 6000*[337] under Rācamalla's successor, Nītimārga Eṟeyanga I. Kuvalāla - 300, Ganga 6000 and smaller units had earlier been ruled by Duggamāra Eṟeyappa*[338], the son of Śrīpuruṣa. From the ninth century the Nōḷambas became entrenched in this area which came to be designated over time, the Nōḷambavāḍi 32,000 country*[339]. With this, the locus of Ganga

*329. K.V. Ramesh, op. cit., No. 49, ll. 112-113

*330. Ibid No. 50, ll. 96, 106 - 113.

*331. EC V (new ed) My 186.

*332. ASMAR 1929, No.38, pp. 105-106.

*333. K.V. Ramesh, op. cit., No. 90, the Perjjarangi Charter of Rācamalla I, AD 819; v 10, ll 80 - 83

*334. Ibid No. 113, Keregōḍi Rangāpura plates, v. 6, ll.34-35.

*335. EC XII (old ed) Si 38

*336. EC XI (old ed) Cl 33, 34.

*337. EC X (old ed) Kl 79.

*338. EC X (old ed) Mb 80, Sp 57, 65, Mb225

*339. EC X (old ed) Sp 59.

power shifted westwards even as Ganga lithic inscriptions commenced referring to them as Kuvalāla puravareśvara and Nandagirinātha in token of their ancient association with the area.

The Rāṣṭrakūṭas under Amōghavarṣa made another attempt to recover Gangavāḍi when Bankēśa led his armies far into Ganga dominions, conquering Kēḍala (Tumkur district) and forcing the Ganga to flee from his capital of Taḷavaṇapura (Talakāḍ). However, rebellions in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa territories compelled Bankēśa to beat a retreat returning the political situation to status quo ante. This invasion by Bankēśa is mentioned in the Konnūr inscription of Amōghavarṣa*[340] but is not referred to in any Ganga record. The Ganga king in question appears to have been Nītimārga Eṟeyanga I to judge from "Nītimārga Raṇavikrama"*[341] occurring in double entendre in verse 24. The Gangas on their part claim victory at the battle of Rājāṟamaḍu over the Rāṣṭrakūṭas*[342].

The net consequence of these skirmishes appears to have been the conclusion of a matrimonial alliance between the two dynasties, with Amōghavarṣa's daughter being married to Būtuga I, the younger son of Nītimārga Eṟeyanga I*[343]. The Gangas on their part seem to have acknowledged the suzerainty of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa to judge from the title of Sakala - Pṛthvīvallabha appended to Amōghavarṣa in the Keregōḍi Rangāpura plates*[344].

This impression is strengthened by the Cikka Sārangi inscription (Tumkur taluk and district) of AD 903 which states that a feudatory of Akālavarṣa Kṛṣṇa II, Pracaṇḍa daṇḍanāyaka Śrī Dāmapaiya, was stationed at Maṇṇe as general of the entire south ('tenkaṇa - diśāvarkk - ella Daṇḍanāyakan āgi Maṇṇeyoḷ ire')*[345]. As mentioned earlier,

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*340. EI VI, No.4., pp. 25 ff, dated 860 AD.

*341. Ibid, ll. 24-25

*342. K.V. Ramesh, op. cit., No. 113. vv 11-12.

*343. Ibid, ll. 62 - 63

*344. Ibid, No. 113, l. 62.

*345. EC XVI (rev. ed) Tm 78, ll. 3-6

Manne or Mānyapura was an eighth century Ganga capital*[346]. That a Rāṣṭrakūṭa feudatory was stationed here with an army and made grants*[347] would indicate indubitably, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa overlordship over Gangavāḍi.

Under Būtuga II, and his successors, Maruḷa and Mārasimha II, the subordination of the Gangas to the Rāṣṭrakūṭas is in no doubt. The Āṭakūr inscription commences with a reference to the reign of Kṛṣṇa III Rāṣṭrakūṭa*[348] and goes on to record the grant to Būtuga II of Banavāse - 12,000, Beḷvōḷa - 300, Purigeṟe - 300, Kiśukāḍ - 70 and Bāge - nāḍ - 70 for having slain Rājāditya Cōla in battle*[349]. The Kūḍlūr plates of Mārasimha II enumerate other services rendered to his overlord by Būtuga II. "He recovered from Lalleya the elephants, horses, the white umbrella and throne and restored them to Kṛṣṇa"*[350]. He is also said to have "driven Emagaṇḍuga from his country, burnt down Tañjāpuri, Nālkēlo and other fortresses and given Kṛṣṇa lordly elephants and horses"*[351]. No doubt a goodly share of this booty was appropriated by Būtuga himself.

His son and successor, Maruḷa was the nephew and son-in-law of Kṛṣṇa III. One of the highlights of his reign which apparently was quite uneventful was the bestowal by the emperor (sakala mahīśa) of an umbrella (chatram) named Madanāvatāra never before obtained by and other king*[352].

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*346. Vide Supra, p. 158.

*347. EC XVII (rev. ed) Tm 78. The grants per se were made by a general (daṇḍanāyaka) of one Durvinīta together with certain corporate groups such as the Bhattavuttar - 1000, Beya 300 and Oleya - 500 but apparently with Dāmapaiya's sanction.

*348. EI II, pp. 167 - 74, ll. 2-4.

*349. Ibid, ll. 20-21.

*350. K.V. Ramesh, op. cit., No. 138, ll. 85-86, v. 23

*351. Ibid, v. 24, ll. 89-90

*352. Ibid, No. 138, ll. 95 - 96, v. 29.

His younger brother and successor, Mārasimha II was crowned in person by Kṛṣṇa III "on the grounds that he was quite worthy of union with the goddess of the Ganga Kingdom inherited from his ancestors"*353 and that his head was "adorned with the ornaments of unswerving devotion and allegiance to his lord"*354. The Kukkanūr plates reveal that Mārasimha fully justified this faith. He set out on a northern expedition on the orders of king Cōḷāntaka and claims to have vanquished the Gūrjara king, Lalla, the lord of the Vindhyan ranges and Alla*355. He is further lauded for having ensured the coronation of king Indrarāja (IV) on the death of Kṛṣṇa III*356. The Śravaṇabeḷgōḷa eulogy of Cāvuṇḍarāya speaks of a campaign undertaken by Mārasimha II against Vajviḷadēva by the order of king Indra*357. In spite of Mārasimha's loyal services, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas were supplanted by the Cāḷukyas of Kalyāṇa in AD 973. Mārasimha passed away the following year having adopted the Jaina vow of samādhi-maraṇa*358.

The period following his death was one of political unrest. The Gangas had to contend with rebellious feudatories and invasions by the Cāḷukyas and Cōḷas. They concluded their political career as the subordinates of the Cōḷas as the Haḷe Būdanūr inscription indicates*359.

*353. Ibid, ll. 124-125, 141-42

*354. Ibid., ll. 136-137

*355. Ibid. No. 159, v. 34 - 35, ll. 121-27

*356. Ibid. No. 159, v. 38 - 39, ll. 128 - 133

*357. EC II (new ed) Sb 388

*358. ECII (new ed) SB 64.

*359. EC VII (new ed) Md 54

# CHAPTER IV

## THE RULING ELITE - GROWTH OF INTERMEDIARIES

We have seen earlier that the political structure of the Ganga principality in the first phase was not very complex. In the eighth century and thereafter, however, we have evidence of the growth of a vast and varied class of intermediaries. This chapter will take up the composition of this class of intermediaries in detail.

### A) FEUDATORIES BELONGING TO THE GANGA LINEAGE.

There was a persistent tendency,particularly in the eighth century to distribute the Ganga domain amongst members of the royal family in particular, and collateral Ganga lineages, in general. Thus, in the period of Śrīpuruṣa (AD 725 - 788) his son Duggamāra Ereyappa held the nāḍus of Kuvaḷāla - 300 and Ganga - 6000, *1 Belvathūr-nāḍu, Pulvaki nāḍu - 1000 Bēpōḍu - 1000 and a nāḍu of sixty *2. However, another eighth century record mentions Muthūra... as ruling Kuvaḷāla nāḍu - 300 and Ganga - 6000 under Śrīpuruṣa. *3 Since these lithic inscriptions are not dated, their relative chronology is difficult to fix. Possibly, Muthūra...held these territories before they were assigned to Duggamāra. At any rate it is clear that such assignments were not permanent. It would also indicate that the Gangas in this period exercised close control over the eastern division, changing the rulers of the nāḍus at will.

Duggamāra Ereyappa's queen (Mahādēvī) Kāñci-abbe ruled Agaḷi under him.*4 Likewise, Śivamāra Ereyappa, another son of Śrīpuruṣa was ruling Kuṇungil nāḍu *5, while Vijayāditya, another prince of royal blood ruled 'Āsandi nāḍ. *6 The Honnuḍike inscription of Śrīpuruṣa mentions his father's younger brother Śivamāra Ereyappa by name. Although he is not mentioned as the ruler of a nāḍu, he made a grant to the goddess of Ponnuḍike of the

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*1 EC X (old ed) Mb 80

*2 Ibid, Sp 57.

*3 K.V.Ramesh, op.cit.,No.53

*4 EC X (old ed) Mb 80

*5 K.V.Ramesh, op.cit.,No.68

*6 EC VI. (old ed) Kd 145

income in gold (pon) out of the receipts at the time of harvest (suggiyul)*7.That he could thus dispose of the revenues apparently without reference to the king would indicate that he was a territorial or administrative potentate of some importance.

Yet another local ruler belonging to the royal family was Sripurusa's valorous queen (Vara Vīrantarpuram) Vine...ttinimmaḍi the ruler of Maḷavellūr. In that capacity she granted exemption from forced labour (viṭṭa), impressment of bullocks (ettukol), and tolls on headloads to the Forty of Amasu and the Twenty.*8

An inscription of the close of the eighth century AD from Hemmige (T.Narsipur taluk, Mysore district) refers to the reign of Konguṇi Mārājar and mentions Permānaḍi and his queen (arasi).*9 Permānaḍi became a common title of Ganga rulers from the reign of Rācamalla I (acc.AD 819). *10 But possibly here it is either Śrīpuruṣa or Śivamāra II who is mentioned under this title. Konguṇi is in any case the title hereditarily attached to all Ganga rulers after the founder Konguṇivarman.

The record registers the remission of the Pattondi tax at the request (besati)of the queen by Permānaḍi for two generations of inhabitants of Pemoge (possibly identical with Hemmige). It would appear that Hemmige fell within the jurisdiction of Permānaḍi himself or of his queen. The T.Narsipur area apparently fell within the personal domain of the Gangas at this time, including as it did their capital city of Talkāḍ. Most eighth century inscriptions from T.Narsipur record grants by Ganga Kings themselves, albeit sometimes at the request of their subordinates *11.

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*7 K.V.Ramesh, op.cit.,No.64

*8 EC IV (new ed) Yl.138

*9 EC V (new ed) TN 253

*10 EC V (new ed) Kn 49.

*11 This is the case with the Talkāḍ inscription of AD 726, EC V (new ed) TN 207.

After the reign of Śrīpuruṣa systematic distribution of territory among members of the royal family does not appear to have been much in evidence. The Husakūru inscription of AD 870-71 (Nanjanagud taluk, Mysore district) is one of the earliest records to refer to the reign of Satyavākya Permānaḍi Rācamalla II and to the rule of Būtarasa I his younger brother over Kongalnāḍu and Punnāḍu. Būtarasa is also stated to have held the Yuvarāja paṭṭa *12. This is interesting particularly in the light of the Jaina literary works of the tenth century which consistently portray kings crowning their elder son as adhirāja and the younger son as Yuvarāja before retiring to the monastery. Thus in Pampa's Ādipurāṇa Vṛṣabhanātha bestows the Rājapadavi on Bharata along with the territory of Ayōdhya while Bāhubali is given the Yuvarāja padavi and the territory of Pauḍanapura *13. Likewise in Ponna's Śāntipurāṇa ministers crown Aparājita as king while his younger brother Anantavīrya is given the position of Yuvarāja after their father Stimitasāgara adopts the Digambaravrata *14. In Nēminātha Purāṇam, Śūravīra crowns his elder son Andhakavṛṣṇi as king and Vṛṣṇi narapati, his younger son as the crown prince before retiring to the monastery *15. The Husakūru inscription indicates that the literary texts reflected a current practice. This would also explain why there was such a strong tendency for collateral succession among the Gangas. In fact, Rācamalla II was succeeded by Būtarasa's son Nītimārga Eṛeyanga II - one of the many collateral shifts in succession in Ganga history.

It is the Kūrgal inscription however, that represents a true continuation of the practice of dividing the territory among members of the royal family.

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*12 EC III (new ed) Nj 385

*13 K.L.Narasimhasastry, (ed, transl) Pampa's Ādipurāṇam, Kannaḍa Sāhitya Pariṣat, Bangalore 1980; IX.65.

*14 H.P.Nagarajayya, (ed, transl), Ponna's Śāntipurāṇam, Kannaḍa Sāhitya Pariṣat, Bangalore 1982, I.96.II.1.

*15 B.S.Kulkarni (ed), Triṣaṣṭhi Lakṣaṇa Mahāpurāṇam, Dharwad, 1975, p 330.

This inscription of the close of the ninth century refers to the reign of Permānaḍi (Rācamalla II), while Eṟeyappa II was ruling Kongal nāḍu-8000 and Būtuga I's queen (arasi) Paramabbe was ruling Kūrgallu (Periyappaṭaṇa taluk, Mysore district). Like the Kōlār inscriptions of Duggamāra Eṟeyappa, the Kūrgal record *16 not only depicts the distribution of territory among the various members of the royal family but also a feudatory hierarchy therein.

Several records from the Mysore district datable to the closing years of the ninth century or the early years of the tenth refer to the joint rule of Rācamalla II and Eṟeyappa II but they do not specify Eṟeyappa's territorial holdings. Thus the Iggali inscription (Nanjanagūḍ taluk, Mysore district) of the twenty second regnal year of Rācamalla II (AD 892) registers a grant of Kalnāḍ to the family Rāceya Ganga who died fighting at Uttarillaga against Nōḷamba. The grant was made jointly by Rācamalla II and Eṟeyappa *17. This inscription is significant in that it records a grant to a minor chieftain of Ganga lineage. The Gaṭṭavāḍi plates of AD 904 also refer to the joint rule of Racamalla II and Ereyappa II but again omit mention of Ereyappa's territorial holdings.*18. An ambiguous reference to their joint rule comes from the tenth century Mūḍahaḷḷi inscription (Nanjanagūḍ taluk) which records the grant of. Adirāṟu-12 to four individuals who died fighting Chō....ḷi Muttarasa. The grant was made by Permāḍi, his Mahādēvi,and Eṟeyappa together with the Aysāmantas *19. The editors of Epigraphia Carnatica identify them with Rācamalla II his chief queen and Eṟeyappa II *20.

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*16 EC IV (new ed). Pp.28

*17 EC III (new ed).Nj 204

*18 EC III (new ed) Nj.402

*19 Ibid, Nj 197.

*20 Ibid, p.103

In contrast, the Kaṭṭemanuganahaḷḷi inscription (Heggaḍedēvanakōṭe taluk, Mysore district) of the same period mentions only Nītimārga Permānaḍi (the regnal title of Er̤eyappa II) as the reigning king, but then specifically mentions Er̤eyapparasa as ruling Nugu nāḍ and Navale nāḍ *21. In discussing the empire of Charles V in sixteenth century Europe, G.R.Elton has pointed out that Charles changed his character and title from domain to domain within his disparate realm. He was Duke in the former Burgundian holdings in the Low Country, king in Spain and Emperor in Germany, and he dealt with each domain through its separate and distinct institutions *22. Perhaps the same insight can be applied here as well. The nāḍus, or atleast some of them, fostered such a strong corporate regional identity that Er̤eyappa though the overlord of Gangavāḍi as a whole had to approach such units as Nugu nāḍ and Navale nāḍu separately as their local ruler. This surmise is further strengthened by the Hiraṇandi inscription (Heggaḍedēvanakōṭe taluk) of the tenth century. This interesting epigraph records the accession of Rācamalla III and the challenge to his rule posed by one Bhuvanāditya who demanded half the kingdom and the treasure. Thereupon the Five Sāmantas (Aysāmanta) and the Pergaḍes declared that none other than Rācamalla would rule over Bayalnāḍ and gave battle to Bhuvanāyta (the tadbhava form of Bhuvanāditya) at Māguṇḍi.*23. Although Bhuvanāditya had demanded half the kingdom, the subordinates of Bayal nāḍ were clearly concerned more with the issue of the local ruler. Bayal nāḍ too thus appeared to have had a strong regional identity as did Nugu nāḍ and Navale nāḍ. It is interesting moreover to note that all these units belong to the same geographical area of the upper valley of the river Kabbāni and its tributary, the Nugu river.

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*21 Ibid, Hg 5.

*22 G.R.Elton, Reformation Europe Fontana Series, 1963 p 40-41

*23 EC III (new ed) Hg 23.

After Eṟeyappa II we do not appear to have any evidence for the distribution of territory among the members of the Ganga royal family. The Elkūru inscription (Chamrajnagar taluk,Mysore district) of AD 999-1000 records a joint grant by Nītimārga Gōbindarasa and his queen Pṛthuvabbarasi to the Twelve of Elavakkalūru.*24 But there is no evidence that Pṛthuvabbarasi held a separate fief of her own.

We have several epigraphic references to Ganga chiefs of collateral lineages. The Tāyūru inscription of the ninth century (Nanjanagūḍ taluk) refers to the reign of Piḻduvi Ganga, the son of Asaga Ganga.*25. The editor of Mysore Archaeological Report, 1930 has suggested that he was identical with Pṛthivipati I . the son of Śivamāra II *26 although no other epigraph gives Śivamāra II the title of Asaga Ganga. The territory ruled by him is also not specified. Similarly the Bēvinakuppe vīrgal (Pāṇḍavapura taluk, Mandya district) of the ninth century mentions one Pṛthivi Ganga whose concubine (sūḷe) Bīrakka's son Eṟekalinga got his head cut off for an unknown reason in his presence.*27. Pṛithivi Ganga has not been identified nor his domain defined. The Maṇṇe plates of Rācamalla I of AD 817 also refer to a Ganga prince named Mahēndra at whose instance the Doḍḍavāḍi village was granted as a dēvadāna. *28.

An inscription palaeographically datable to the close of the ninth century from Biḷigere (Nanjanagud taluk) registers a grant of dehusked paddy (nellakki sollage) to the Mahājanas of Kūḍalūr by Śrī Vinayāditya, who is given the titles, inter alia, of Atiśaya Ganga and Gangara Bhīma (Bhīma among the Gangas).*29 From these titles he would appear to belong to the Ganga lineage. No overlord is mentioned, nor is the area ruled by Vinayaditya specified.

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*24 EC V (new ed) Ch 82.

*25 EC III (new ed) Nj 205.

*26 Ibid, P.101

*27 EC VI (new ed) Ppu.253.

*28 S.Settar, ASMAR 1910.- A study, Vol.III,Dharwad 1976, No.4.,p.32-34.

*29 EC III (new ed) Nj 244.

A similar grant is registered in the Nelamane inscription of the close of the ninth century (Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇa taluk, Maṇḍya district) wherein a chief of Ganga Kula whose name is lost, granted a sollage of dehusked rice (beḷiyakki) for feeding persons *30. Again the territorial domain of this chief is not specified. The Hiriyūr inscription of the same period records the death of Kali Ganga, the son of Ānungarasa of Kiḷvuli in the battle against Ayyapa at Kalikaṭṭi *31. But it is not clear whether Kali Ganga actually belonged to Ganga lineage. The name and title of his father in particular throws some doubt on the assumption. The Uppahaḷḷi vīrgal of AD 959-60 (Chikmagaḷūr taluk, district) also mentions one Kali Ganga who was ruling over Devaḷige nāḍu - 70.*32. While it is possible that he was of Ganga extraction, we cannot be certain.

In contrast two eighth century inscriptions from the Bowringpet taluk of Kōlār district clearly refer to the rule of Śrīvibhava Muttarasar of Gangānvaya over Eḷenagar nāḍ-70, Āvanya nāḍ-30, and Pomkundu-12. Both records mention battles with a Bāṇa chief in which certain tenants (okkal) died and received posthumous grants of land as Kalnāḍ*33. Similarly, the Jinnahaḷḷi inscription (Heggaḍedēvanakōṭe taluk, Mysore district) records the death in a battle against Nōḷambādhirāja, of Māciga the son of Eṛeyangappa. The hero is described as Gangānvayamūlastambha and Gangavamśādhipati. He died fighting at the orders of Guttiya Ganga *34, a title of Mārasimha II *35. B.R.Gopal et.al. identify Guttiya Ganga with Eṛeyappa II and assign this inscription to the close of the ninth century *36. This is a doubtful

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*30 EC VI (new ed) Sr 94.

*31 EC VI (old ed) Kd 140.

*32 EC VI (old ed).Cm.42.

*33 EC X (old ed) Bp 13 from Tallapaḷḷi and K.V.Ramesh, op.cit.No.72 from Pilāvara.

*34 EC III (new ed) Hg 26.

*35 B.Sheik Ali, op.cit.,p 136.

*36 EC III (new ed) p.447

identification. In any case, both Śrīvibhava Muttarasar and Māciga are undeniably of Ganga descent. While the territory ruled by Māciga is not specified, Śrīvibhava Muttarasar's estates are clearly alluded to. The relationship of both chiefs to the main branch of the Gangas cannot be discerned. But if B.R.Gopal's contention is right, Māciga might be a son of Ereyappa II.

A tenth century record from Hiri-Bidnūr (Goribidanūr taluk, Kōlār istrict) mentions Nanniya Ganga, the son of Ganga-kula-tilaka Kōḷālapuraparameśvara, Śrīmat Piḷduvipati.*37 He is probably identical with Ganga Pṛthivipati II the ally of Cōḷa Parāntaka I. Nanniya Ganga however appears to be subordinate to Aṇṇiga Bīra Nōḷamba, the son of Nōḷambādhirāja Ayyapadēva whose name comes first in the record - the place assigned to the reigning king. The inscription goes on to state that Nanniya Ganga's champion (gaṇḍa) joined Bīra Nōḷamba in a battle against Śāntara at Isavūr, slew the enemy and brought his head and shield to the king (āḷdana) before dying himself.In appreciation of his valour, Bīra Nōḷamba granted Piriya Bidanūr in Kiḷka nāḍ as Kalnāḍ. The grant was apparently to be maintained by the Gangas and their descendants. Although the fact that Bīra Nōḷamba's name appears before Nanniya Ganga's in this record and that the Nōḷamba is referred to as the commemorated hero's ruler (āḷdana) would incline us to the belief that the Nōḷamba was the overlord, the fact that Nanniya Ganga's subordination is not unambiguously mentioned as is usually the case, might indicate that the two chiefs were merely allies, possibly making common cause against the Śāntara. This surmise is strengthened by the Tātanakallu inscription of the tenth century (Gōribidanūr taluk) which once again mentions Nanniya Ganga. This time the Ganga's servant (?) Aṇṇiya Gauṇḍa fought against Bira Nōḷamba's invading army and died. In this record the grant for the deceased hero is made by the okkal of an unspecified village (ūr) and the Mahājanas.*38

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*37 EC X (old ed) Gd 4.

*38 ASMAR 1925, No.86, p 74-75

An inscription from Bēlūr (Maṇḍya taluk, district) dated AD 997 mentions Ganga Maṇḍaleśvara and Ganga Permānaḍi the latter being the ruler of Kundūr nāḍ.*39 It is possible that, both refer to Gōbindara Rakkasa Ganga the reigning Ganga monarch. In the second case he is possibly mentioned specifically as the ruler of the nāḍu to which the grant pertains. Alternatively Ganga Permānaḍi might have belonged to a collateral branch although the title of Permānaḍi was usually applied only to scions of the main branch. It is interesting that this record gives the Ganga only the title of Maṇḍaleśvara instead of the sovereign titles of Mahārājādhirāja and Parameśvara. Would this indicate subordination to a greater power? The fragmentary reference to Tribhuvanamalla a common biruda of the Cāḷukyas, at the beginning of this inscription * 40 might in fact suggest such subordination. On the other hand the Haḷe Būdanūr inscription of AD 1024 (Maṇḍya taluk,district) which is dated in the regnal years of Rājēndra Cōḷa signifying his suzerainty, gives Gōbindara Rakkasa Ganga all the sovereign titles *41. It is therefore difficult to come to a conclusion on the status of a ruler on the basis of titles only.

In the Pampa Bhārata Arjuna after his coronation bestows on his brothers and Yuyutsu the nāḍus of their choice *42. Such distribution of territory among the members of the lineage appears then, to have been established practice even in the tenth century. In the case of the Gangas it is best attested to in the eighth century when they held close control over most of Gangavāḍi by this means, as also by transferring feudutories from one territorial unit to another. Thereafter this hold weakened even as the practice of distribution among members of the ruling family is attested to only from a few records. The majority of references to Gangas of collateral branches come from

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*39 EC VII (new ed) Md 67.

*40 Ibid, Md 67, l 2,

*41 EC VII (new ed) Md 54

*42 Pampa Bhārata XIV. 36 Vacana.

the post eighth century period. But the Gangas lost effective controlover the Eastern division which represented their earliest power base. Other lineages, particularly the Bāṇas and Nōḷambas supplanted them there.

B) OTHER RULING LINEAGES OF SOUTHERN KARNATAKA.

(I) BĀṆAS: Mention has been made earlier of Mahalingam's view that the Bāṇas had a base in the Kōlār area in the mid-fourth century.AD from which they were ousted by the Gangas.*43 However, the earliest authentic Bāṇa records date only from the eighth century. The Tātikallu inscription assigned by Rice to c-715 AD (Mūḷbāgāl taluk, Kōlār district) refers to the reign of Mahāvali Bāṇarasa. No overlord is mentioned. The inscription records the death of a hero who died defending cattle.*44 Likewise, the Sīsandra inscription (Kōlārtaluk,district) of the mid-eighth century mentions Mahābali Bāṇarasa as theruler of Ganga-6000.*45 The Hulikunda inscription (Bowringpet taluk, Kōlār district) of the same period also refers to Mahāvali Bāṇarasa as the ruler of Ganga-6000 without mentioning an overlord. The Bāṇa appears as the superior of a minor chieftain named Nāgadēva who was probably ruling Pomkundu-12.*46 The Bāṇa's claim to rule over Ganga-6000 independently is interesting in the light of other Kōlār epigraphs which mention Muthūra...*47 and Duggamāra Ereyappa*48 as rulers of that unit under the suzerainty of Śrīpuruṣa Ganga in the same period. Similar conflicting claims to rule over the Banavāsi-12000 unit have been noted earlier.*49. It would appear that the Ganga hold over this region in Śrīpuruṣa's reign was not as secure as it appears merely from a perusal of the Ganga records. The Bāṇas held at least some portion of Ganga-6000 independently of the Gangas. The Tallapaḷḷi and Pīlāvara records*50 cited earlier would also support this emerging picture of a Ganga - Bāṇa conflict over the territories in the Eastern division.

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*43 Supra, Chapter III, Section A.

*44 EC X (old ed) .Mb 261.

*45 EC X (old ed) Kl 235.

*46 EC X (old ed) Bp 48.

*47 Supra, fn 3

*48 Supra, fn 1

*49 Supra chapter II,section B

*50 Supra, fn 33.

Ganga-Bāṇa relations were not always hostile in this period. The Hullēnahaḷḷi copper plates of Śrīpuruṣa refer to Diṇḍigarar of Bāṇa lineage as the subordinate ruler of Oḷnūlu in Kaṛbappu-nāḍu. At his request, the Kōvalaveṭṭu village was granted to three brāhmaṇas as brahmadēya by Śrīpuruṣa.*51. Likewise the Dēvarahaḷḷi plates of AD 776 record the grant of Ponnalli village in Nirggunda viṣaya and of other lands to a Jaina temple at Śrīpura constructed at the instance of Kundācci, the queen of Paramagūla, the Pṛithivi Nirggundarāja of Bāṇa lineage. The grant itself was made at the instance of Paramgūla.*52 Both Diṇḍigarar and Paramagūla were thus subordinates of Śrīpuruṣa and were ruling territories in the Western division.

The Eastern division was the Bāṇa's main base. Towards the close of the eighth century several records from the Śrīnivāspur and Mūḷbāgāl taluks of Kōlār district refer to the reign of Vikramāditya Jayamēru Bāṇa Vidyādhara also known as Prabhumēru over the earth - an expression of independence. One of these records, a vīrgal from Araḷukōṭe records a battle with Kāḍuvaṭṭi's entire force (samasta bala) in which his subordinate Vīramahāmēru died fighting.*53 Kāḍuvaṭṭi is the Tamil dynastic name of the Pallavas. It would seem that the Pallavas were attempting to expand their circle of influence by fishing in the troubled waters of Southern Karnāṭaka where at this time the Rāṣṭrakūṭas had supplanted the Gangas, perhaps with some aid from the Pallavas. The Maṇṇe plates of yuvarāja Mārasimha state that Śivamāra II had been jointly crowned by Gōvinda III Rāṣṭrakūṭa and Nandivarman Pallavamalla.*54 Another vīrgal from Araḷukōṭe itself records the death of Vīyala Vijyādhara in a battle against the Ḍāmarigas at the order (besase) of his lord (āḷva) Prabhumēru. It is not clear who the Ḍāmarigas were. The word ḍāmara means a riot or an affray.*55 Ḍāmariga by extension might mean rioters. The Rājataranginī of Kalhaṇa refers to a class of landlords or wealthy cultivators in ancient Kashmir known as Ḍāmaras.*56.

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*51 EC VII (new ed) Md 14.

*52 EC VII (new ed) Ng 149.

*53 EC X (old ed) Sp 6

*54 Supra, Chapter III, Section C, fn 325.

*55 F.Kittel, op.cit., q.v.Ḍāmara.

*56 D.C.Sircar, I.E.G., q.v.Ḍāmara.

This is unlikely to apply to southern Karnāṭaka where an analogous class of wealthy cultivator landlords was better known as gāvuṇḍa. At all events, the Ḍāmarigas of the Araḷukōṭe inscription appear to have been a formidable force. The deceased hero received the village Kulanellūr with all exemptions.*57. From the ninth century the Bāṇas appear to have been overshadowed by the Nōḷambas whose inscriptions outnumber those of all other lineages in the Eastern division. But the Bāṇas retained a foothold in the Mūḷbāgāl taluk area whence a series of Bāṇa records of the ninth and tenth centuries have been recovered.*58

The Bāṇas' relations with the Gangas and the Nōḷambas appear to have fluctuated. After the restoration of the Gangas a period of Ganga-Nōḷamba alliance followed. It is probably to this phase in the ninth century that the Maḍivāla inscription (Kōlār taluk, district) belongs. This epigraph states that Nītimārga Permānaḍi was ruling Gangavāḍi-96,000 while Nōḷambādhirāja was ruling Ganga-6000. At the Nōḷamba's orders Pompallavoḍeyar, the lord of Bēngaḍa (Bēngaḍa-nātha) marched with his forces upon Murggepāḍi and fought against Bāṇarasa. Both monarchs made a posthumous grant in appreciation of his valour.*59

While the Maḍivāla inscription indicates that Ganga-Bāṇa relations were hostile in this period the Bangavāḍi epigraph (Mūḷbāgāl taluk, Kōlār district)*60 seems to suggest that an alliance even if a short- lived one existed between the three powers. They appear to have joined together to fight against Māyināḍiya Dāḍiga in the battle of Mandāvu. Likewise, the Vartūr inscription (Bangalore taluk,district) also of the ninth century mentions a Bāṇa chief Aṇṇiga, the son of Nijapa of Mahābali vaṁśa

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*57 EC X (old ed) Sp 5.

*58 EC X (old ed) Mb 265,26,230,124, kl 200 of c 850 AD, Mb 243,244 of c.890 AD,Mb 227 of c.900 AD, Mb 126 of AD 961,etc.,

*59 EC X (old ed) Kl 79. *60 Ibid, Mb 228

as the subordinate of the Ganga and of Nōḷamba Śivamāra, the ruler of Morasu nāḍu.*61

We also have references to chiefs belonging to Balivaṁśa from the Western division. While the epigraphs themselves do not describe them as Bāṇas, the fact that the Bāṇas too claimed descent from Bali might justify mentioning them with the Bāṇas. One of these chiefs was Śrī Muttara, the Sāmanta of Rācamalla II and Ereyappa II who fought off an invasion by Nōḷambarasa at Kalikaṭṭi. He is highly eulogized as the Dilīpa of this world (bhuvana - Dilīpa), Śūdraka among heroes (Kali-Kali-Śūdraka), the beloved of victory (Jayakke nalla) and the forehead ornament of Balivaṁśa.*62 Similarly the Gaṇiganūru inscription (Yelandūr taluk, Mysore district), mentions Ghaṇarudra Arakuṭṭi of Balivaṁśa evidently a subject of Satyavākya Permānaḍi who is referred to as the reigning king. Arakuṭṭi made several land grants for the Arakuṭṭīśvara temple which was evidently constructed on his behalf by Śivaśakti bhaṭāra, the trustee.*63 We do not know the rank enjoyed by Ghaṇarudra Arakuṭṭi nor the territory ruled by him.

The Bāṇas then, appear as chiefs claiming independent control over the Ganga-6000 province in the eighth century. In the following two centuries, however, their realm appears to have shrunk under the impact of the expanding Nōḷamba lineages to mere pockets in the modern Mūḷbāgāl taluk. Their relations with the dominant powers of the region fluctuated. While the Gangas and Nōḷambas occasionally waged war against the Bāṇas they also appear to have co-operated sometimes in the conduct of local wars. Individual Bāṇa chiefs are also mentioned in the records of the western division, mostly as the subordinates of the Gangas.

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*61 EC IX (old ed) Bn 40.

*62 EC XVI (rev.ed) AK 215.

*63 EC IV (new ed) Yl 174.

(II) NOLAMBAS: The earliest certain references to the Nōḷambas in our records come from the close of the eighth century. The Gañjam copper plates of yuvarāja Mārasimha refer to Koḷḷiyarasa Kali Nōḷambādhirāja of Pallavarāya, who granted Tipperūr to Ponnaḍi, the oḍeya of Ārppoḷa, with Mārasimha's permission.*64 Another eighth century record from Hebbāḷu (Maddūr taluk, Maṇḍya district) mentions Nōḷvabba rājya*65 which may be a reference to a Nōḷamba principality, but we cannot be certain. Likewise, two Kōlār district epigraphs refer to the reign of Pallava mārāja*66 and of a chief entitled to play the five great instruments (pañcamahāśabda), named Pṛthvivallabha Pallavarāma of Pallavānvaya*67 respectively. Since the distinctive name of Nōḷamba is absent in both records, it is hard to determine whether the Pallava chiefs referred to were of Pallava stock from Tamil Nadu or their local offshoots in south-eastern Karnāṭaka.

Like the Bāṇas, the Nōḷambas too were based in the eastern division and became the dominant power there. Until the end of the ninth century the names of individual Nōḷamba rulers are not mentioned in inscriptions and we have only generic references to Nōḷambādhirāja of Pallavānvaya entitled to thePañcamahāśabdas, who presumably was the main representative of this lineage.*68

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*64 EC VI (new ed) Sr 66.

*65 EC VII (new ed) Mu 36.

*66 EC X (old ed) Bg 77 of the eighth century from Venkatapura.

*67 EC X (old ed) Mb 59 of c.800 AD from Avani.

*68 For instance, EC X (old ed) Bp 45 of c.AD 820 Mb 248 of C.860 AD, Sp 27, Sd 32 of c.870 AD: Sd 33,Mb 102, Sp50, CB 26,Gd 5, Ct 36 of c.880 AD, etc.

The Ghaṭamāranahaḷḷi inscription (Sidlaghaṭṭa taluk, Kōlār district) of the ninth century which mentions Pallava Nōḷambarasa entitled to the Pañcamahāśabdas,*69 the Malliśeṭṭipura epigraph of the beginning of the ninth century which refers to Śrī Nōḷamba ruling the kingdom,*70 and the Hulikunda inscription of c.880 AD which mentions Mañja Nōḷamba as the reigning king,*71 perhaps represent collateral Nōḷamba chiefs. The Vartūr inscription (Bangalore taluk, district) of the ninth century which mentions Nōḷamba Śivamāra as the ruler of Morasu nāḍu and the subordinate of (Ganga) Permānaḍi*72 has been referred to earlier.*73 Likewise, the Duntūru record (Kankanahaḷḷi taluk, Bangalore district) mentions a minor Nōḷamba chieftain named Sēnemāra whose son, Mendaṇṇa's death in a cattle raid is commemorated.*74

From the last quarter of the ninth century Nōḷamba inscriptions begin alluding to the names of the monarchs. Mahēndrādhirāja is one of the earliest Nōḷambas to be mentioned by name. He was the son of Nōḷambādhirāja Pōḷalcōra by Jāyabbe the daughter of Rācamalla II Ganga.*75 Pōḷalcōra and his immediate predecessors are named only in an inscription from Hēmāvati dated AD 942-43.*76 It is probably Pōḷalcōra who was ruling over Ganga-6000 under Nītimārga Ēreyappa.*77 Mahēndrādhirāja is said to have ascended the throne after destroying rival claimants (dāyiga), Cōramma and others.*78 He established the temple of Mahēndrēśvara at Bāragūr and granted Nāndūr in Sire nāḍ for its maintenance and conduct of worship therein.*79 Another record from Bāragūr mentions several queens of Mahēndra such as Bija(y)a Mahādēvī, Parama Mahādēvī, Akkabbe and Ḍombabbe who were ruling over Oreyūru, Dharmapoḷala, Siyavūr and Tailōka poḷala respectively.*80

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*69 ASMAR 1929,No.36,P 103

*70 EC X (old ed) Sd 59.

*71 EC X (old ed) Bp 41

*72 EC IX (old ed) Bn 40

*73 supra, p175-6, fn.61.

*74 EC IX (old ed) Kk 152 of c.900 AD.

*75 EC XII (old ed) Si 38. of AD 878

*76 Ibid Si 28 of AD 942-43.

*77 EC X (old ed) Kl 79.

*78 EC XII (old ed) Si 38

*79 Ibid.

*80 EC XII (old ed) Si 24 of c.880.

This epigraph thus attests to distribution of territory among members of the royal family. Interestingly the queens appear to have granted lands to a basadi. It is significant that women patronized Jainism to a greater extent than men. This issue will be taken up later.*81

Apart from the Bāragūr records Mahēndrādhirāja is referred to in an inscription from Niḍugal (Pāvagaḍa taluk, Tumkur district). This also mentions Biḍi Cōrarasa of Pallavānvaya who is said to have constructed a temple of Candraśekara.*82 Similarly, an inscription from Karubeḷe (Bowringpet taluk, Kōlār district) states that Mahēndrādhirāja was ruling Ganga-6000.*83

Although Mahēndrādhirāja was the son of a Ganga princess, Ganga-Nōḷamba relations were far from cordial in this period. The Muttukaḍahaḷḷi vīrgal*84 (Chintāmaṇi taluk, Kōlār district) and the Doḍḍabelavangaḷa vīrgal*85 (Doḍḍabaḷḷāpura taluk, Bangalore district) both refer to the reign(arasugeyye) of Mahēndra, and to battles with the Gangas in which the latter appear to have been worsted. The Bēgūr inscription of Eṟeyappa II also mentions a battle with Bīra Mahēndra in which Nāgattara a subordinate of theGanga died fighting.*86 The Śeṭṭihaḷḷi*87 and Venkaṭapura*88 vīrgals ofc.880 AD which mention Māyindamarasa as the reigning king might also belong to the same Nōḷamba monarch whose domain covered most of Kōlār district and parts of the Bangalore and Tumkur districts. In addition, Dharmapuri (TamilNāḍu) and its adjoining areas were also held by the Nōḷambas at this time.*89

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*81 Infra, Chapter VI.

*82 EC XII (old ed) Pg 45.

*83 EC X (old ed) Bp 64.

*84 Ibid, Ct 116.

*85 EC IX (old ed) DB 3.

*86 Ibid, Bn 83.

*87 EC X (old ed) Sd 39

*88 Ibid, Sp 19.

*89 EI X.,No.14, pp. 54-70.

Two inscriptions from Āvani record the death of Mahēndrādhirāja. His mother, Dīvalabbarasi, a Kadamba princess, built a temple Nọḷamba Nārāyaṇeśvara in his memory.*90 He was apparently succeeded by Ayyapa dēva Nōḷambādhirāja, his son. The Kōyira virgal (Dēvanahaḷḷi taluk,Bangalore district) which mentions śrimad Ayyapa as the reigning king is dated AD 909.*91 Another inscription from Bāragūr (Sira taluk, Tumkur district) which mentions Ayyapadēva as the ruler is dated AD 919. His queens (Mano-nayana-Vallabheyar) Nāgiyabbe and Neleyabbe granted lands for two temples,situated at Bāragūr.*92 Most other records are undated but palaeographically assigned to the beginning of the tenth century. This is the case with the Hulikunda inscription*93 (Bowringpēṭ taluk, Kōlār district) the Hebbaṭa inscription*94 (Śrīnivāspur taluk, Kōlār district)*95 and the Cāmanahaḷḷi inscription (Mālūr taluk, Kōlār district). All these inscriptions are hero-stones, the first two commemorating deaths in cattle raids and the last a conflict between a local ruler Sitipendranarasa of Navilūr and Ayyapa. Ayyapa's son Bīra Nōḷamba appears to be the next ruler of the line. Two of his records from Kurubūr (Chintāmaṇi taluk, Kōlār district) are dated AD 931.*96 Both record cash grants to the 108 Mahājanas of Kurumbūr by the sons of Nāgamayya, the oḍeya of Kōmaramangaḷa.*97 Bīra Nōḷamba's realm seems to have included the Śrīnivāspur,*98 Kōlār,*99, Gauribidanūr,*100 and Chintāmaṇi taluks*101 of Kōlār district, and the Sira,*102 Maddagiri*103 and Pāvagaḍa*104 taluks of Tumkūr district. His relations with Nanniya Ganga of the collateral Ganga line has been discussed earlier.*105 It was also Aṇṇiga Bīra Nōḷamba who is said to have been defeated by Ganga Rācamalla III and reduced to vassal status according to the Kūḍlūr plates of Mārasimha II.*106 But Aṇṇiga Bīra Nōḷamba's records do not betray any signs of such subordination.

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*90 EC X (old ed) Mb 38,50
*91 EC IX (old ed) Dv.10.
*92 EC XII (old ed) Si 39.
*93 EC X (old ed) Bp 42.
*94 EC X (old ed) Sp 29
*95 EC X (old ed) Mr 52
*96 EC X (old ed) Ct 43,44.
*97 EC X (old ed),Ct 44.
*98 EC X (old ed) Sp 58,64.
*99 EC X (old ed) Kl 9,57.
*100 EC X (old ed) Gd 85,86,4; ASMAR 1925, No.86,p.74-75.
*101 EC X (old ed) Ct 43,44.
*102 EC XII (old ed) Si 59

Bīra Nōḷamba was succeeded by his younger brother Dilīpayya Nōḷamba. This chief bore the titles and birudas of Pṛthivīvallabha, Pallava-kula-tilaka, Iṛiva Nōḷambādhirāja and Palaroḍe gaṇḍa and is said to be entitled to the Pañcamahāśabdas according to the Hemāvati inscription of AD 942-43*107

His domain included Āvani in Mūḷbāgal taluk,*108 Tekal (Mālūr taluk),*109Hebbaṭa (Śrīnivāspur taluk)*110 and Hulikunda (in Bowringpet taluk)*111 in the Kōlār district and the Sira taluk*112 in Tumkur district. Apart from this, several inscriptions from the Kōlār, Tumkūr and Bangalore districts refer to Iriva Nōḷambādhirāja; one of the titles of Dilīpayya Nōḷamba.*113

However the descendants of Pōḷalcōra are not the only Nōḷamba chieftains attested to for the end of the ninth and the beginning of the tenth century. An inscription from Koḍlāpura (Maddagiri taluk, Tumkūr district) dated AD 897-98 refers itself to the reign of Pṛthivīvallabha Nōḷambādhirāja Nōḷipayya, entitled to the Pañcamahāśabdas.*114 He appears to have reigned uptil the middle of the tenth century since his Tūmbaḍi inscription (Maddagiri taluk) is palaeographically assigned to that period.*115 This inscription refers to a battle at Bidirūr with Būtuga (the Ganga?) in which Poṇṇiga of Tumbevāḍi participated at the order (besadal) of Ankayya, the son of Nōḷambādhirāja Nōḷipayya.

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*103 EC XII (old ed) Mi 71

*104 EC XII (old ed) Pg 80.

*105 supra, p.267, fn 37

*106 K.V.Ramesh, Op.cit.No.138, v.21.

*107 EC XII (old ed) Si 28.

*108 Vide infra, Section F, p.253.

*109 ASMAR 1930, No.8, p 134.

*110 EC X (old ed) Sp 25.

*111 EC X (old ed) Bp 40,43,44.

*112 EC XII (old ed) Si 28,35.

*113 EC X.(old ed) Kl 158,Mb 31,105; EC IX (old ed) Ht 37,;EC XII (old ed)Si 14,Mi 39.

*114 EC XII (old ed) Mi 52.

*115 Ibid, Mi 27. of c.950 AD.

While the Tumkur records consistently attribute only the title of Nōḷambādhirāja to Nōḷipayya two records from Kōlār palaeographically assignable to the mid-tenth century also give him the title of Iṟiva-Nōḷambādhirāja. Of these, the Guṇḍlahaḷḷi epigraph (Kōlār taluk) gives Nōlipayya the titles of Ēkavākya, Nōlambādhirāja and Iriva-Nōlamba and he is said to be entitled to the Pañcamahāśabdas. The inscription also mentions Vikramāditya Tiruvayya as the ruler of the Ganga-6000 unit as a subordinate of Nōḷipayya.*116 Tiruvayya, who is described as Vaidumba śikhāmaṇi is also mentioned in the Bētamangaḷa inscription (Bowringpet taluk) of Nōḷipayya. In this record, Nōḷipayya is described as Iṟava-Nōlambādhirāja.*117

Since the title of Iṟiva Nōḷambādhirāja is ascribed to both Dilīpayya and to Nōḷipayya it becomes difficult to determine whether the inscriptions mentioning only the title should be ascribed to Nōḷipayya or to Dilīpayya. The extent of their domains also cannot be precisely ascertained on this account. The relationship between Nōḷipayya and Mahēndrādhirāja and his scions also cannot be discerned. While Dilīpayya's inscriptions by and large portray him as an independent ruler, the Muddalahaḷḷi inscription of AD 956 (?) suggests that he was subordinate to Nōḷipayya.*118 The last reference to Iṟiva Nōḷamba comes from the Haraḷakuṇṭe vīrgal (Kolar taluk) which is dated AD 966.*119 Since Nōḷipayya was ruling from 897-98 AD this record is more likely to belong to Dilīpayya. Nōḷipayya's last certain date is AD 951 to which year the Āṟūru inscription (Chintāmaṇi taluk, Kōlār district) belongs. This records a grant by Nōḷamba and Tiruvayya (the Vaiḍumba) of ten koḷas of waste land at Āne-ūr as dēvabhōga to the Bhīmēśvara temple.*120 The lacuna in the Muddahaḷḷi inscription throws some doubt on its date. If it is indeed assignable to AD 956, (Saka 8.8), then this would be the last-known reference to Nōḷipayya.

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*116 EC X (old ed) Kl.198. of c.950 AD

*117 Ibid, Bp 4.

*118 EC X (old ed) Ct.143

*119 EC X (old ed) Kl 245

*120 Ibid, Ct.49.

The Uttanūr epigraph of AD 968 (Mūḷbāgāl taluk) records the coronation (paṭṭamgaṭṭi) of Nanni Nōḷamba.*121 It was possibly Nanni Nōḷamba together with collateral Nōḷamba chiefs, who was defeated and perhaps killed by Mārasimha II Ganga who then adopted the title of Nōḷambakulāntaka.*122 Subsequent to this we find the Ganga asserting his authority in the Eastern division for the first time in the tenth century. The Hālahaḷḷi*123 and Hulikunda*124 vīrgals both refer to the reign of Mārasinghadeva (II), in recording the death of local heroes in defence of buffaloes and cattle. However, in spite of the grandiose title of Nōḷambakulāntaka adopted by Mārasimha he does not seem to have been successful in wiping out the Nōḷambas at least in the Eastern division. An inscription from Melāgaṇi (Mūḷbāgāl taluk) dated AD 974 states that Nōḷambādhirāja Cōrayya and his father (tande) received the news of Mārasimha's death.*125 It is possibly Cōrayya who is referred to under the title of Nōḷambādhirāja in the Kandagrāma inscription (Chikka-Baḷḷāpura taluk, Kōlār district) of AD 977*126

Two vīrgals from Haḍakanahaḷḷi (Hosakōṭe taluk, Bangalore district) point to the existence of collateral branches of the Nōḷambas and of conflict among them. One of these refers itself to the reign of Nōḷambādhirāja and records the death of a Nōḷambarasa in a battle apparently against the Nōḷamba chief of Cōḷa Bijāyitamangaḷa.*127. The other vīrgal records the valour of Nōḷambarasa's retainer Mallapannaṛa and his elder brother Kāvaliya Raṇugayya possibly in the same battle.*128 Two other references to Nōḷamba chiefs from the Eastern division in the post 975 AD period come from hero-commemoration stones at Hēmāvati. The first records the death of Uttiga,a soldier of Nōḷamba Permāḍi and Sāgabbarasi in a battle against the Gangas.*129 The second vīrgal refers itself to the reign of Āhavamalla Nōḷambādhirāja and records the death of Pōcayya in a local skirmish.*130

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*121 EC X (old ed) Mb 122.

*122 EC II (new ed) SB 64; Cavundaraya Purana, op.cit. p.4.

*123 ASMAR 1930,No.12, p.137. *124 EC X (old ed) Bp 47.

*125 EC X (old ed) Mb 84. *126 Ibid, CB 45.

*127 EC IX (old ed) Ht.47 of.c.980 AD *128 Ibid, Ht 48 of c.980 AD.

Although the Nōḷambas were essentially based in the Eastern division, which came to be known as Nōḷambavāḍi by the close of the tenth century*131we do have references to Nōḷamba chiefs from the western division as well. As mentioned earlier, the earliest reference to a Nōḷamba comes from a Maṇḍya inscription.*132 One Nōḷamba chief appears to have been based in Āsandi nāḍ as the Hire-Bāsūr inscription indicates.(Kaḍūr taluk, Chikmagaḷūr district) This epigraph records the death of Mārasimha gāmuṇḍa in a battle against Nōḷamba of Āsandi nāḍ. The deceased hero was given the village of Bāsanūr with all exemptions.*133 It is possibly the same Nōḷamba ruler who was fought off by Śrī.Muttara, the sāmanta of Ēṟeyappa II who was ruling Āsandi nāḍ.*134

Two other inscriptions from Hāssan district, the Diḍaga vīrgal of AD 970(Channarāyapaṭna taluk) and the Nēṟilage vīrgal (Arsīkere taluk) of AD 971-72 mention battles undertaken by Nōḷambakulāntaka Mārasingha Permānaḍi (II) against the Nōḷambas. The Diḍaga vīrgal mentions a battle at Ulanūr in which Asagayya of Panaravāḍi was killed fighting with Mahāsāmanta Lēsayya. His son, Śankaragoṇḍa received a grant as Kalnāḍ.*135 Since the location of Ulanūr is not specified it is not clear where the Nōḷamba adversary of this record was based. The Nēṟiḷage inscription also records the death of a hero Annavāsayya in a battle against the Nōḷambas and the grant of Nēṟiḷage village as kalnāḍ to his son Būtuga in perpetuity.*136 Once again in the absence of data we cannot hazard a guess as to the territorial holding of the Nōḷamba chief in question.

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*129 EC XII (old ed) Si 26.

*130 Ibid, Si 29.

*131 EC X (old ed) Sp 59 of the reign of Rakkasa Ganga.

*132 supra, fn 64.

*133 EC VI (old ed) Kd 141.

*134 EC XVI (rev.ed) Ak 215.

*135 EC V (old ed) Cn 267.

*136 EC XV (rev.ed) Ak 237.

An equally unsatisfactory reference to a Nōḷamba chief comes from the Kerehaḷḷi inscription (Chāmrājnagar taluk, Mysore district) of the close of the ninth century which mentions Permāḍi (a Ganga?)receiving homage from Nōḷamba's Pergaḍe, Tribhuvanayya. The record goes on to state that Tribhuvanayya was administering Śivayyanakeṟe and granted bittuvaṭṭa for the tank.*137 Since the inscription is on a stone in the tank bund of Kerehaḷḷi,it is tempting to conclude that Tribhuvanayya was the local officer and Nōḷamba, his lord, had jurisdiction over this area. While it is possible we cannot be certain. If we accept this view, it would imply that the Ganga control over the Kaveri valley too was incomplete and the process of sub-infeudation had set in here also.

In sum, the Nōḷambas emerged as a major power in the eastern division in the ninth century and remained entrenched there in spite of Gaṅga attempts to subject them to their own authority. Initially they had allied themselves to the Gaṅgas, matrimonial alliances had been entered into and the Nōḷambas acknowledged the suzerainty of Rācamalla I and Nītimārga Eṟeyappa I as the Maḍivāla inscription bears witness.*138 But in the majority of the Kōlār, Bangalore and Tumkūr records, the Nōḷambas do not refer to the Gangas as their overlord. They appear to have pushed the Bāṇas to a corner and subordinated the Vaiḍumbas to their authority. Although several inscriptions from Hāssan in the west and Kōlār in the east mention Mārasimha II's conflict with the Nōḷambas, his biruda of Nōḷambakulāntaka seems far from the truth. The Nōḷamba kula survived his onslaught but were submerged soon after by the Cōḷa blitzkrieg.*139

(III) VAIḌUMBAS : In comparison to the Nōḷambas or even the Bāṇas, the Vaiḍumbas had a limited presence in south-eastern Karnāṭaka. Only from the tenth century do we have epigraphic references to this lineage.

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*137 EC IV (new ed) Ch 352

*138 EC X (old ed) Kl 79.

*139 Only two records, EC X (old ed) Ct 118 of AD 1011-12 and Sp 14 of c 1015 AD refer to Nōḷamba Cōrayya under Cōḷa rule.

As in the case of the Nōḷambas we only have generic references to the Vaiḍumba mahārāja initially. One of the earliest inscriptions to refer to Vaiḍumba mahārāja is the Bairaganapaḷḷi epigraph (Śrīnivāspur taluk, Kōlār district) of c.900 AD. The Vaiḍumba mahārāja is stated to be entitled to play the Pañcamahāśabdas and was apparently an independent ruler. The arasa of Halayūr and Pallava Mahārāja, the donor of a Kalnāṭu are also mentioned, but the relation of these three kings to each other is not clear.*140

The other early reference to the Vaiḍumba comes from Bechirākh Yaṟṟaguḍi inscription of the same period (Bāgepaḷḷi taluk, Kōlār district). This states that the Vaiḍumba mahārāja was ruling with the small river (Kiṟudoṟe) as his boundary. He seems to have come into conflict with the Nōḷamba Mahārāja and a hero fell in the battle of Muṟu Malkīci.*141 It is not clear which small river is referred to here. The Kiṟudoṟe as boundary (maryāde) is also mentioned in the Bayyapaḷḷi inscription of c.880 AD (Śrīnivāspur taluk). The Kiṟudoṟe was the boundary between the domains of Nōḷabbādyarasa (Nōḷambādhirāja?), Cōḷa Permānaḍigaḷ and Māyindama.*142 The Bayyapaḷḷi inscription brings out the political fragmentation in the Kōlār region at this time. So great was this fragmentation that the nāḍu units are scarcely ever mentioned. They do not appear to have been valid political units at this time. When the Cōḷas brought this entire region under their control, however, the old nāḍus are once more mentioned. Apparently, they continued as units with an ethnic or regional identity but for the purposes of the record-keepers, the most significant point at issue was the local ruler whose domain did not necessarily coincide with the nāḍu boundaries, at least in the Kolar area.*142(a)

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*140 EC X (old ed) Sp 85.

*141 EC X (old ed) Bg 62.

*142 Ibid, Sp 30

*142(a) Supra Chapter II,Section B

The third early record mentioning Vaiḍumbha mahārāja as ruling the kingdom of earth comes from Kottapaḷḷi (Śrinivāspur taluk) and refers to a certain Cōrayya who was ruling the Nelavanki abhyantara-siddhi evidently as a subordinate of Vaiḍumba mahārāja.*143 Abhyantara-siddhi has been explained by Sircar as internal income or revenue payable to the village authorities as against those payable to the king.*144 It has been explained by others as "the power of adjudication".*145 In this inscription and in other records from Shimoga district it seems to indicate rulership of a village.*146

At the beginning of the tenth century, then, the Vaiḍumbas appear to have been independent rulers based mainly in the Śrinivāspur taluk but with a small pocket in the Bāgepaḷḷi taluk as well. Inscriptions of the mid-tenth century, however, portray them as subordinates of the Nōḷambas. The Bētamangaḷa inscription of c.950 AD (Bowringpet taluk, Kōlār district) mentions Iṟiva-Nōḷambādhirāja Nōḷipayya as the reigning king and Vaiḍumba śikhāmaṇi Vikramāditya Tiruvayya repairing the breach in the tank of Vijayādityamangaḷa (evidently the modern Bētamangaḷa) at the orders (besadol) of Nōḷipayya. The bittukaṭṭa for the tanks maintenance was granted in favour of the 500 mahājanas of Kayvāra.*147 The fact that Tiruvayya acted at the command of Nōḷipayya would clearly indicate his subordinate status. This is further confirmed by the Guṇḍlahaḷḷi inscription of the same period (Kōlār taluk) which describes Nōḷipayya as the reigning king and Vikramāditya Tiruvayya as the ruler of Ganga-6000.*148 This once more records the grant of bittukaṭṭa for the tank of Bangavāḍi. Likewise the Ārūr inscription (Chintāmaṇi taluk) of AD 951 mentions Iṟiva Nōḷambādhirāja as the reigning king and records the grant of a dēvabhōga for the Bhīmēśvara temple by Nōḷamba and Tiruvayya.*149

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*143 ASMAR 1928, No.33, p 45-46.

*144 D.C.Sircar, I.E.G.,q.v. abhyantara-siddhi.

*145 Ibid

*146 EC VIII (old ed) Sb 70.

*147 EC X (old ed) Bp 4.

*148 EC X (old ed) Kl 198.

*149 Ibid, Ct 49.

While Tiruvayya's domain is not specified in this record nor his subordination clearly mentioned, the order in which the names appear seem to imply vassalage.

Lastly we have the Guṇḍlahaḷḷi epigraph of c.950 AD (Mūlbāgal taluk), which mentions Dilīpayya as the reigning king and records the grant of bittukaṭṭa for the tank of Mandigallu by Tiruvayya's son Candraśekara.*150

It is interesting to note that the distribution of the mid-tenth century epigraphs mentioning the Vaiḍumbas differs from the geographical spread of the earlier records of Vaiḍumba mahārāja. The relation between Vaiḍumba mahārāja of the early tenth century and Vikramāditya Tiruvayya and his son Candraśekara cannot be discerned. It is possible that they belonged to collateral branches. On the other hand it is also possible that the acceptance of Nōḷamba suzerainty enabled the Vaiḍumbas to extend their sphere of influence just as Rajput chiefs accepting Mughal sovereignty could enjoy mansabs and jagirs under imperial service in addition to their patrimonial estates.

(IV) COLAS: We have a few epigraphic references indicating Cōḷa presence in south-eastern Karnāṭaka prior to its conquest by Imperial Cōḷas under Rājarāja Cōḷa I. A group of vīrgals from Śravaṇaguḍi (Maddagiri taluk, Tumkur district) of c.750 AD mention Cōḷa Dhananjaya as the ruler of Erigālavāḍi-600. Two of these commemorate death of heroes in the war waged by the Twelve (Pannīrvarum) against Raṭṭapāḍi (the Rāṣṭrakūṭa territory).*151 Another vīrgal mentions a rebellion by Kangapāḍi, Kottavallipāḍi and Vallabhavāḍi against Valavarma who apparently ruled over them.*152 The relation between Cōḷa Dhananjaya and Valavarma is not clear. Yet another hero-stone commemorates the death of Āditya Kumaran a retainer (āḷu) of Cōḷa Dhananjaya in some battle.*153

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*150 Ibid, Mb 198.

*151 EC XII (old ed) Mi 97,92.

*152 EC XII (old ed) Mi 93.

*153 Ibid, Mi 101.

Another early reference to a Cōḷa comes from the eighth century Hebbālu vīrgal (Maddūr taluk, Maṇḍya district) which has been cited earlier in connection with the Nōḷambas.*154 This hero-stone records the prowess in battle of Karmāga Rāca, Irmaḍi Bīra and Maṇalēra, okkal from Kuṇungil under the command of Irmaḍiyar at Tungaḷa against Vaḍi Cōḷa. The territory of Vaḍi Cōḷa cannot be determined from this record. Likewise, the Bayyapaḷḷi inscription (Śrīnivāspur taluk, Kōlār district) which mentions Cōḷa Permānaḍigaḷ sharing the Kirudoṟe as a boundary with Nōḷabbādyarasa and Māyindama*155 also does not help much in fixing the domain of the Cōḷa chief beyond indicating that it lay in the Śrīnivāspur area.

Two inscriptions from Nagaragere (Gauribidanūr taluk, Kōlār district) assigned to the beginning of the tenth century, mention Cōḷa Mahārāja as the local ruler. While the purport of one is unclear,*156 the other records the grant of wet lands (gaḷḍe) for three temples (Mūru dēgulakkam) by a subordinate of Māyindama Cōḷa Mahārāja.*157

While the above records are of local chiefs of Cōḷa extraction the Bairakūru inscription (Muḷbāgal taluk, Kōlār district) indicates that the Imperial Cōḷas had conquered parts of south-eastern Karnāṭaka even prior to Rājarāja I. This inscription mentions Madiregoṇḍa Kō Parakēsarivarman (Parāntaka I) as the reigning king and is dated in his twenty-ninth regnal year (AD 934).*158 It records the rescue of cattle by Māremma of Bayadakūru and the grant of one kaṇḍuga of riceland (kaḻani) below the tank to the hero by a feudatory (sāmanta) of Permāḍi. Permāḍi might possibly refer to Pṛthivipati II Ganga or to his son Nanniya Ganga who is mentioned in the Gauribidanūr inscriptions cited earlier.*159 But Parāntaka's control of this region did not last long. The invasion of Kṛṣṇa III Rāṣṭrakūṭa and of Būtuga II Ganga wrested even Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam from the Cōḷas.*160

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*154 Supra, fn 65

*155 Supra, fn 142.

*156 EC X (old ed) Gd 72.

*157 Ibid, Gd 69.

*158 EC X (old ed) Mb 203.

*159 supra, fn 37 ,38.

*160 supra, Chapter III, fn.349.

But under Rājarāja I the Cōḷas reconquered most of Gangavāḍi and retained it until expelled from there by Viṣṇuvardhana Hoysaḷa,a century later. The extent and nature of Cōḷa administrative control over Gangavāḍi will be discussed later.*161

(V) NĀGATTARAS: A few inscriptions from Bangalore district refer to the Nāgattaras who appear to have been vassals of the Gangas. It is not quite clear whether "Nāgattara" refers to a descent group or to an office. But the Agara inscription of the ninth century (Bangalore taluk) mentions Nāgattara Irugamayya as the Irvuḷiyūr-oḍeya.*162 From this Nāgattara would seem to be a family name. This is further suggested by the Bēgūr inscription which mentions the tying of the Nāgattara vaṭṭa.*163 This immediately recalls the Śerugunḍa inscription which mentions Nirvinīta's younger son being crowned with the Kongaṇi paṭṭa (the Ganga crown).*164

Just as Kongaṇi was the generic name for the Gangas after the founder Kongaṇivarman, so it is possible that Nāgattara was the generic name for this descent group although the word vaṁśa is nowhere used.

The position of Irvuliyur oḍeya held by Nāgattara Irugamayya implies that he held land in that settlement. The Agara inscription thus brings out the rural landholding base of the Nāgattaras though we have no hint as to their caste affiliation.*165 The Bēgūr inscription on the other hand stresses the Nāgattaras' position as military vassals of the Gangas. It refers to the battle against Bīra Mahēndra in which Nāgattara led the forces of Ayyapa and his sāmantas and died fighting in the battle of Tumbepāḍi. His son Iruga was then given the Nāgattara vaṭṭa (crown) and the division of Bēmpūr-12 as kalnāḍ.*166 The Bēgūr inscription substantiates Nandi's contention of contractual relationship between overlords and vassals.*167.

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*161 Infra, Chapter V Section B *162 EC IX (old ed) Bn 79. *163 Ibid, Bn 83.

*164 supra, Chapter III, Section B, fn 214

*165 infra, pp 249ff fn. 449-457 for a discussion on ūroḍeyas

*166 EC IX (old ed) Bn 83.

In addition the Bēgūr record also signifies the confirmation of the heir in his succession to the dignity or estate of Nagattara.

The Bammondapalli inscription (Ānekal taluk, Bangalore district) of the close of the ninth century is the last record to refer to Nāgattara. It records the death of Mangala Bīvanna, the servant (āl) of Nāgattara in a cattle raid (turugōl).*168 The hero was probably a raider since inscriptions generally mention death in defence of cattle specifically.*169 If so this would indicate, how widespread the practice of cattle raiding was.*170

In sum, the Nāgattaras appear to be low-ranking feudatories who were initially associated with landholdings at the village level. By the close of the ninth century as a result of meritorious military service Iruga who succeeded to the Nāgattara vatta held a division of twelve villages. The history of the Nāgattaras brings out the dynamism of the political system of the period wherein the endemic warfare provided the feudatories scope for increasing their rank and possessions.*171 We are proceeding here on the assumption that the Nāgattaras formed a feudatory lineage. Whether the three references to the Nāgattaras belong to members of a single lineage or collateral branches thereof cannot be discerned from the meagre data at our disposal.

(VI) KUŚA-TARYALLA: We have a single reference to this lineage in our inscriptional record. This comes from the Kōtevūr inscription (Chikmagalūr taluk, district) of the close of the eighth century. The Kuśa-Taryallas claim descent from Manu, Ikṣvāku, Hariścandra, Dilīpa and Rāghava, who are described as the progenitors (vamśyādirājah).

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*167 R.N.Nandi, "Growth of Rural Economy in Early Feudal India" in PIHC, Presidential Address, Ancient India section, (1984), p 27; infra, Chapter V, Section B.

*168 EC IX (old ed) An 73.

*169 Supra, Chapter II, Section D, fn 483.

*170 supra, Chapter II, section D, Pastoralism & Mixed farming.

*171 B.D.Chattopadhyaya, op.cit.,p.45.

In that family (kula) was Hari-Viṣṇu-Trivikrama by whom the solar race was purified. Rāma's son was Kuśa whose son was Kukuśa. Kukuśa had two sons, Mallikāri and Mūrikāri. The latter is said to have slain......sēna, a hunter difficult to conquer. He is also credited with the migration to the south, where he performed jātakarma ceremonies for Taryalla I apparently with the help of a Kāśyapa brāhmaṇa. Taryalla II, the donor of this record traces his descent from Taryalla I through Śāntakīrti, Nāgakīrti and Sangama all of whom appear to be devotees of Brahma. Their munificence to vedic learning is also lauded. The Kōṭevūr epigraph registers a grant to twenty-five brāhmaṇas but the object granted is not clear. The śāsana is said to have been composed by Pandasvāmi, a Kāśyapa, who was Taryalla's purōhita and is described being well-versed in Purāṇas (purāṇajña).*172 This inscription provides an interesting example of a local, perhaps, tribal chief claiming superior status through descent from the ancient race of Ikṣvāku and from Viṣṇu in his incarnation as Rāma. The reference to the performance of jāta karma, one of the brahmanical saṁskāras, for Taryalla by Mūrikāri is also interesting. Is this a reference to the hiraṇyagarbha which was the archetypal method for autochthonous chiefs to claim respectibility?*173

The association of Kāśyapa brāhmaṇas both with the performance of the jāta karma and with the composition of this record is significant. It appears to represent the legitimation of an emerging tribal chief by obliging brāhmaṇas. In return Taryalla II and his immediate predecessors extended their patronage to brahmanical institutions.

The Kōṭevūr record remains the only trace of this lineage. Apparently it failed to flourish thereafter.

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*172 EC VI (old ed) Cm.63.

*173 supra, Chapter III,Section B,fn. 262.

(VII) NIRGGUNDAS: We have a few references to Nirgunda viṣaya and to Nirgunda-arasa in inscriptions. We have seen earlier that the Dēvarahaḷḷi copper plates of Śrīpuruṣa mention Paramagūla who bore the title of Pṛthvī Nirggundarāja but who belonged to the Bāṇa vaṁśa.*174 It is consequently difficult to ascertain whether the Nirggunda prefix in the names of some monarchs refers to a lineage or merely to the territory ruled by them. On the other hand, it is possible that, Nirggunda viṣaya derived its name from an ancient lineage by that name but later passed under the sway of rulers of other lineages.

Apart from the Dēvarahaḷḷi plates, the Bhairāpura inscription (Channarāyapaṭna taluk, Hāssan district) of Śrīpuruṣa mentions Nirggunda-arasa ruling Nirggunda nāḍu-300. It is not clear whether this Nirggunda-arasa was identical with Paramagūla. At all events the inscription commemorates the death of Mālvapoṭṭeya of Vīravūr, the servant (āḷ) of Nirggunda-arasa in a skirmish at the boundary (mēre) with Kuḍi Muddan.*175 The epigraph does not specify whether the boundary mentioned is that of the village or of the nāḍu, nor does it give much information on the aggressor.

The Śiradanahaḷḷi vīrgal of AD 921-22 (Arkalgūḍ taluk, Hāssan district) of the reign of Satyavākya Bīra Permānaḍi (Rācamalla III), the son of Nītimārga Eṟeyappa II Permānaḍi records the grant of a kalnāṭu in to Nirggunda Jaggiyarasa of Beḷgali in appreciation of the valour of his son Tippayya who died in battle leading seventeen men.*176 The territory ruled by Jaggiyarasa is not specified so it is an open question whether Nirgunda here refers to a lineage or territory.

Lastly, we have the Bāgaḷi inscription (Chāmrājnagar taluk, Mysore district) which has been assigned on palaeographic grounds to the tenth century. This epigraph mentions Mahāsāmanta Kaccāga Nirggundadeva of the Vānaradhvaja and Vṛṣabha lāñchana entitled to play the Pañcamahāśabdas as the reigning king ruling

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*174 EC VII (new ed) Ng 149.

*175 EC V (old ed) Cn 208.

*176 EC VIII (new ed) Ag 81.

from Sōṇitapura. The inscription records several grants of land for the Bhujangēśvara temple of Bāḷgaliyūr, which were entrusted to Kūci bhaṭārar, its lord. Incidentally, Kūci bhaṭārar bore the title of Nirggunda-gōrava.*177 Evidently he was closely associated with the ruler who bestowed the title on him. However, the adoption of the overlord's name or title is more common among the lay feudatories of a king than among religious potentiaries. As in the case of Jaggiyarasa, the territorial units ruled by Kaccāga Nirggunda dēva are not clearly specified. Since the gāvuṇḍas of Ede nāḍ are mentioned as witnesses, it is possible that this was one of the units ruled by this Mahāsāmanta. At all events reference to Nirggunda viṣaya/nāḍu is conspicuously absent. The reference to Vānara dhvaja makes it likely that Kaccāga Nirggunda dēva belonged to the Kadamba lineage. Consequently derivation of the Nirggunda component in the name of this chief becomes a mystery.

(VIII) KADAMBAS : The Kadambas had risen to power in Northern Karnāṭaka around the same time as the Gangas in South-eastern Karnāṭaka. In the late sixth century they were uprooted and supplanted by the western Cāḷukyas.*177 Some minor Kadamba chiefs continued to exist, however,in Northern Karnāṭaka and in the Hāssan and Shimoga districts as well.

During the second phase the earliest references to the Kadambas come from the Narasimharājapura plates of Śrīpuruṣa and Śivamāra II Ganga. The first of these records refers to Nāgavarma of the Pāṣiṇḍi Ganga family and his brother-in-law, Tuḷuga-aḍi of Kadamba lineage as the donors along with Maṇali Mane-oḍeyōn of Kōśika lineage. The village Maḷavalli in Tagare janapada was granted by the two chiefs to the caityālaya (Jaina shrine) at Toḷḷa.*178

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*176 EC IV (new ed) Ch 114.

*177 supra, Chapter III, Section A, p.108

*178 K.V.Ramesh, op.cit.,No.71.

The Narasimharājapura plates of Śivamāra II also mention Viṭṭarasa, the son of Mādhavēndra who is described as being entitled to the Kadamba kingdom ('Kadamba rājyakkarhan'). Viṭṭarasa granted to the cediya (caitya) at Toḷḷa some black soil land as mānya.*179

After these chiefs who apparently held lands in the Tagare nāḍu (the Hāssan-Chikmagaḷūr tract) we have scarcely any references to the Kadambas until the close of the ninth century. The Gaujāgrahāra inscription of c.890 AD(Shikāripur taluk, Shimoga district) mentions Śāntarasa, the son of Ajavarmarasa of the Kadamba lineage among the donors. But we have no hint as to the territory ruled by this Kadamba.*180 In contrast the Kumsi vīrgal records that Kaliviṭṭarasa, a mahāsāmanta subordinate to Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa II had supplanted Banavāsi Gaḷambar(Kadamba?) Āryavarma. If Āryavarma was a Kadamba then it is clear that for some time at least he had held the town and fort of Banavāsi.*181 This inscription clearly brings out the clienteles that each territorial lord built up to bolster his rule. It is curious, however, that the overlord Kṛṣṇa II seems to have played no part whatsoever in these political changes in Banavāsi-12,000.

The Maḷali inscription (Heggaḍedēvanakōṭe taluk, Mysore district) of the tenth century refers to Cāgi of Kadamba lineage as the ruler of Bayal nāḍ. No overlord is mentioned.*182 As we have seen earlier the Hiraṇandi inscription clearly attests to the fact that Bayal nāḍ was under the overlordship of Rācamalla III Ganga.*183 It would appear that the Gangas subsequently lost this unit to independent chiefs.

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*179 Ibid, No.85.

*180 EC VII (old ed) Sk 45(b).

*181 EC VIII (old ed) Sb 88, Supra, Chapter II, Section B.

*182 EC III (new ed) Hg 110.

*183 supra, p , fn 23 .

The Honnāvara inscription of Nītimārga Permānaḍi of the tenth century (Hāssan taluk, district) refers to a chief who was probably his feudatory who bore the titles and attributes of Bhuvanādhāra vānaradhvaja and vṛṣabha lāñchana. The vānaradhvaja and vṛṣabha lāñchana were associated with the Kadambas. Consequently this chief was probably of Kadamba lineage. He granted a bālgaḷcu for a hero, the details of which are lost.*184 The territory ruled by this chief cannot be determined. Similarly, the Ankanāthapura inscription (Hoḷe-narsipur taluk, Hāssan district) of the tenth century records the death of Rāceya of Kadamba lineage by observing the vow (nontu) for three days.*185 Once more the status of this Kadamba cannot be discerned.

In contrast the Mangaḷūru inscription (Sōrāb taluk, Shimoga district) of AD 968.*186 refers to a Kadamba prince who was ruling Banavāsi-12000 under his sole umbrella ('ēkachatra chāyeyoḷ') although Caṭṭigadēva is mentioned in the earlier part of the record as the reigning king. The Kadamba's name is lost but he is given the attribute of vānaradhvaja and the biruda of Kadamba-mārttaṇḍa. The inscription records the construction of a temple probably by a Pergaḍe and grants for the deity.

Another Kadamba prince who ruled over Banavāsi-12,000 around AD 1018 was Gōravadeva, a feudatory (pāda-padmōpajīvi) of Jagadēkamalla. Gōravadeva had the rank of Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*187 and was styled Kadamba cakri.*188 Likewise, vīrgals from Guḍuve (Sorab taluk, Shimoga district) mentions two Kadamba chiefs - Kadambayya dēva of Banavāsi and Kadamba Śāntayya dēva who were attacked by Pergaḍe Mādiṇayya the ruler of Banavāsi-12,000. They retaliated by a cattle raid on Guḍuve. These records indicate conflicting claims over Banavāsi between Pergaḍe Mādiṇayya and his immediate superior Māṭūravaṁśi Dēvūra Śāntayya dēva on the one

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*184 EC VIII (new ed) Hn 99.

*185 EC VIII (new ed) HN 61.

*186 EC VIII (old ed) Sb 465.

*187 EC VIII (old ed) Sb 46.

*188 Ibid, Sb 48.

hand and the two Kadamba princes on the other. Once again the Emperor, Cāḷukya Jayasingha dēvar who is mentioned as the reigning king appears to stand aloof from the developments at the local level where two factions were competing for control over Banavāsi-12,000.*189

A series of inscriptions from the Manjarābād taluk (Hassan district) reveal the existence of a Kadamba principality there ruled by a chief named Nītimahārāja. The earliest records of this series come from Ballu village. The two inscriptions register grants for heroes and their dependents by Nītimahārāja of the Kadamba rājya with Pergaḍe Biyya as the executor of the grant.*190 The Chikkanāyakanahaḷḷi inscription of c.1030 AD states that Nītimahārāja sought to conquer another rājya.*191 The Kōgōḍu inscription(Bēlūr taluk, Hāssan district) of c.1034 AD records an invasion by Nītimahārāja and his general Dumma Kāṭayya*192 on Kōgōḍu. Another inscription from Chikkanāyakanahaḷḷi records the death of Chikka Kāṭayya.*193 It is not clear whether Dumma Kāṭayya and Chikka Kāṭayya were identical. Finally a third inscription from Ballu records the death of Nītimahārāja himself by the adoption of and perseverance in, sanyasana. His vēḷevāḷi probably followed him in death.*194 Thus the Manjarābād inscriptions document the attempts made by a local Kadamba chief to extend his dominions by conquest. The Kōgōḍu epigraph clearly brings out the destructive character of such invasions.

In sum, the Kadambas maintained a significant presence in the western division, particularly in the Banavāsi-12,000 unit, which after all, was the original nucleus of Kadamba power in the fourth and fifth centuries AD. Minor chiefs of this lineage also established principalities for themselves or received domains by accepting the suzerainty of regional powers like the Gangas.

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*189 Ibid,Sb 60,61,62,63 of AD 1032.

*190 EC V (old ed) Mj 53,54 of AD 1026.

*191 Ibid, Mj 51.

*192 ASMAR 1939,No36,p 143-144.

*193 EC V (old ed) Mj 50.

*194 EC V (old ed) Mj 55.

(IX) CĀLUKYAS : The Cālukyas supplanted the Kadambas from Northern Karnāṭaka and established their suzerainty there in the sixth century. In the mid-eighth century they were supplanted in their turn by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. Minor Cālukyas chiefs continued to hold small domains under Rāṣṭrakūṭa suzerainty until one such chief, Tailapa II mobilized support from fellow feudatories to overthrow the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and re-establish Cālukyan overlordship over Northern Karnāṭaka and the Banavāsi-12,000 province in c.973 AD.

Apart from Banavāsi-12,000 we find references to Cālukya chiefs from Gangavāḍi-96,000 also. They were minor rulers of collateral Cālukyan branches. Mention has already been made of Vimalāditya of Cālukya vaṁśa who was ruling Kunungil deśa under Cākirāja the adhirāja of Ganga maṇḍala.*195 during the Rāṣṭrakūṭa interregnum of the early ninth century. The Kaḍaba plates thus indicate Cālukyan presence in southern Karnataka as early as the ninth century.

Several tenth century records from Mysore taluk mention Cālukyan chiefs Goggi, Durga and Narasingayya. The Kukkarahaḷḷi inscription refers to the Mahāsāmanta entitled to the pañcamahāśabdas, Narasingayya of Cālukya vaṁśa. He was probably the ruler of Pūrva Bayal nāḍ. Although he is given the title of Mahāsāmanta which is indicative of subordination, we are not told who his overlord was. He constructed a temple Narasingeśvara, evidently named after himself, which was given the abhyantara-siddhi grant of Manaḷevāḍi. The grant was to be safeguarded by the three Nārgāvuṇḍas.*196 Another inscription from Varuṇa mentions Mahāsāmanta Narasinga of Cālukya vaṁśa and his queen Gāvilabbarasi.*197 Narasinga was probably identical with Narasingayya of the Kukkarahaḷḷi epigraph.

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*195 supra,Chapter III, Section C, fn 328.

*196 EC V (new ed) My 223.

*197 Ibid,My 167.

Another inscription from Varuṇa also palaeographically assigned to the tenth century mentions Pañcamahāśabda Mahāsāmanta Goggi of Cāḷukya vaṁśa, the bearer of Ādivarāha lāñchana. He appears to have granted Aragōḍupaḷḷi to the Būtēśvara temple as a dēvabhōga with all exemptions (sarvabādhā-parihāra).*198 This Goggi is perhaps identical with the chief of the same name who is mentioned in several other vīrgals from Varuṇa as having participated in the fratricidal war ('dāyāga sammannadin') between Eḍavari and Uttavaga in which several retainers (mane-magatin) of Goggi died.*199 The identity and status of Eḍavari and Uttavaga cannot be discerned nor can the territory ruled by Goggi be determined precisely. Once more we have no information as to Goggi's overlord though the title Mahāsāmanta would indicate subordinate status.

Yet another Cāḷukyan chief mentioned in the Varuṇa inscriptions is Mahāsāmanta Durga, born in the Cāḷukya vaṁśa. He appears to have granted Torevaḷḷi to the west of the Būtēśvara temple and some land below the tank at Bāsambaḷḷiyūr to the Būtēśvara temple as dēvabhōga. The sarva-bādhā-parihāra grant was entrusted to Nannikarttāra bhaṭāra.*200 Another epigraph from Vārakōḍu records the death of Piṭṭabbe, the queen (arasi) of Durga, apparently by a Jaina vow since the stone is said to be her niṣidhige.*201 Their relative chronology cannot be determined either since the records are only dated palaeographically. However, some of the vīrgals recording Goggi's partcipation in the war between Eḍavari and Uttavaga mention Dugga*202 who might possibly be identical with Mahāsāmanta Durga. If so, Goggi and Durga might have been contemporaries. At all events these Mysore inscriptions indicate the presence, in the heart of Gaṅgavāḍi, of a line of apparently independent Cāḷukyan chiefs of the rank of Mahāsāmanta. None of them acknowledges his overlord.

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*198 Ibid, My 169.

*199 Ibid, My 173,174,175,178

*200 Ibid, My 168.

*201 Ibid, My 129.

*202 Ibid, My 176,178.

After the decline of the Gangas, while the Cōḷas were establishing themselves in the south-eastern parts of Gangavāḍi, the Imperial Cāḷukyas held portions of Mysore district. The Kuḍakūr vīrgal of AD 997-98 mentions Pampādēvī, the daughter of Cāḷukya Permānaḍi dēva, as the local ruler.*203

Apart from these ruling lineages new ones such as the Kongāḷvas*204 and the Hoysaḷas*205 were emerging from the fringes of Gangavāḍi and were to play a leading role in the political history of Karnāṭaka in the following centuries.

The Gangas then exercised varying degrees of control over the numerous royal lineages who controlled tracts of land across Gaṅgavāḍi. In the tenth century many of these chiefs from other lineages assumed independence. Few acknowledged the Ganga sovereignty over them. The overlords had recourse to numerous strategies to mobilise support in such a situation. For putting together an army they had to depend on common enmity (page), ties of blood or of loyalty (svāmi-bhṛtya sambandha), the desire to attain fame (mahime) or old diplomatic relations (aṭṭu).*206

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*203 EC IV (new ed) Pp 92.

*204 EC VIII (new ed) Ag 63,143; EC V (old ed) Ag 75 of c.1020-26 AD.

*205 EC V (old ed) Mj 43 of AD 1022; Mj 44; EC VIII (new ed) Ag 143 of AD 1026.

*206 Pampa Bhārata IX.95 vacana.

X) PETTY RULERS OF UNCERTAIN ORIGINS:

There was a general tendency particularly by the tenth century AD to claim descent from a recognized royal lineage. The importance of Kula is stressed in the Pampa Bhārata where Karṇa is repeatedly ridiculed as Mīnguḷiga (fisherman) *207 in contrast to Bhīṣma, Arjuna and others who belonged to a Satkula.*208 Likewise, in the story of Cilātaputra in the Vaḍḍārādhane, Upaśrēṇika the king of Magadha weds Guṇasaundari only after ascertaining that her father belonged to a royal lineage (arasukula) though he was then ruling over a Bēḍa hamlet (Bēḍapaḷḷi) *209 In the Jaina Purāṇas too there is considerable stress on lineage. Here the preferred claim is to descent from the Tīrthankaras as in the Śānti Purāṇa of Ponna where for instance, Śrīvijaya, the Emperor ruling from Pauḍanapura is lauded for his descent from Nābhītanūbhava (Ādinātha) *210. Alternatively, Jainas could claim to belong to one of the four lineages established by Ādinātha namely, the Kuruvaṁśa, Harivaṁśa, Nāthavaṁśa and Ugravaṁśa *211. Thus in Neminātha Purāṇa, when the people of Campānagara seek a successor to the heirless king Candrakīrti, the choice falls on Simhakētu who belonged to the Harivaṁśa and was renamed Mārkaṇḍēya *212. It was in this lineage that Kṛṣṇa, Balarāma and Nēmināthа were to be born. It was this general stress on pure birth that led many rulers feudatory and sovereign alike to claim descent from Purāṇic lineages or a Brahmakṣatrīya status as seen above.*213 But not all feudatory rulers did so. We find numerous local rulers who did not sanctify their

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*207 Ibid.II.83,IX.67,X.20,XII.43 *208 Ibid.X.20,

*209 D L Narasimhachar (ed) Sivakotyacarya's Vaddaradhane Mysore, 7th Reprint 1986, p.207.

*210 Hampa Nagarajayya (ed & transl) Ponna's Santipuranam Pub. Kannada Sahitya Parisat Bangalore 1982; V.75

*211 K L Narasimhasastri (ed),Pampa's Adipuranam,Pub.Kannada Sahitya Parisat, Bangalore 1980, VIII.74 vacana

*212 B S Kulkarni (ed) Cavundarayapuranam, Dharwad 1975, Nēmināthapurāṇam, p 328.

*213 S Jaiswal "Studies in Early Indian Social History: Trends and Possiblities" in Indian Historical Review, Vol VI, Nos 1-2 (1979-80), pp.30-32.

origins by claiming to belong to a Purāṇic lineage or to a locally dominant one.In many cases the tribal affiliations of these little kings is all too apparent. Such is the case with Cottammaṉ king of the Araṭṭis, who is referred to as ruling Eḍeṭṭoṟenāḍu-1000 as a subordinate of Kongaṇi Mahārāja Śrīpuruṣa in an eighth century record from Varuṇa (Mysore Taluk district) * 214 The Araṭṭis appear to be a tribe well absorbed into the early medieval polity, though they seem to have retained their ethnic identity. It is perhaps a member of the same group who is mentioned in the Dēvalapura inscription of the same period and area.*215 This record mentions Araṭṭitīrar a swordsman (?bāḷāḷ) of Singadīkṣar, probably the ruler of Kūḍalūr. A certain Araṭṭiga taḷāra is also referred to as the donee in this epigraph and received a senior retainers field (pērālvina kēy) and Nokki-ūr, a vṛtti of Kūḍalūr from the oḍeya of Goṭṭemāḍi. It is not clear whether Araṭṭitīrar and Araṭṭiga taḷāra were identical, but it is possible that both belonged to the group of Araṭṭis which was now possibly undergoing differentiation and assimilation into the class divided state society of the period at various levels * 215.

The Āsandi inscription of AD 972 (Kaḍūr Taluk, Chikmagaḷūr district) gives us another instance of a tribal chieftain. But in this case unlike Cottamman of the Araṭṭis the tribe and its chief are perceived as adversaries of the established order. The inscription records that the Mahājanas of Tagure nāḍ complain to Mārasimha II about the depredations of Naraga in the countryside. The King thereupon declared that henceforth he would personally deal with cows, brāhmaṇas, the army and the treasury as well as Naraga. Royal soldiers (?talevarum) were sent to deal with Naraga who was killed together with his son-in-law, children, tenants and subjects * 216. The reference to his tenants and subjects [tann-okkalum prajeyum] is interesting. Would this indicate an incipient class differentiation in the tribe or was it a case of viewing tribals as a forest variant of a plains kingdom as is done in the literary works of the period? In the story of Cilātaputra cited earlier, the Bēḍa king (Bēḍarasa) is said to have built a city (poḷala)

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*214 EC V (new ed) My 183. *215 EC V (new ed) My 192

*216 EC VI (old ed) Kd 147

in the forest and his retinue and court are no different from that of any ruler of settled tracts save in its location. Cilātaputra when driven away from his father's kingdom for his misdemeanour goes to the forest and establishes a city complete with a fort (Konte) and big gateways (Gōpuradvāram) in an inaccessible part of the forest (adaviyol durgamappedeyol) but near the hermitage of a forest dwelling sage (tāpasa) named Mahēndra * 217. In Pampa Bhārata, Hidimba though portrayed as a cannibalistic savage to start with, takes the Pāndavas to her city Hidimbapura which had multistoried buildings which were whitewashed and stood out amidst the dark trees on the hill in the midst of the forest * 218. The description of Hidimbapura, brief though it is, is no different from that of Vāraṇāvata, Ēkacakrapura or other towns described in the Pampa Bhārata *219. Thus, while the forest-dwelling tribals were viewed as enemies of the settled order of the nādu, the Bēdas in particular being generally associated with cattle raids on villages and cities,*220 there was simultaneously a tendency to view them as forest based counterparts of the nādu kingdoms in literary sources. Naraga is clearly viewed as a menace to the settled order of the nādus burning and ravaging villages of the Tegure nād *221, the Śravaṇabēlgōla epitaph of Mārasimha even compares him to the asuras Madhu and Kaitabha *222 but he is also looked upon as a minor king. It is difficult to guage whether the tribe which he led was already differentiated along class lines or not from the available evidence.

Apart from this inscriptions abound in references to local rulers whose antecedents cannot be determined. The Śivanapura inscriptions (Hosakōte taluk, Bangalore district) of the eighth century records that Sīyavallavarasar was ordered (besade) by his overlord Kongaṇi Muttarasar, to fight the Kāduvatti army.

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*217 D L Narasimhachar, op. cit. , Vaddārādhane, pp 207, 210

*218 N Anantarangachar (ed&transl) Pampa Bhāratam, Kannada Sāhitya Parisat, Bangalore 1977, III.18 vacana.

*219 Vide supra, Chapter II, Section E, Urbanization

*220 B S Kulkarni (ed) op cit., Cāvuṇdarāyapurāṇa p.331

*221 EC VI (old ed) Kd 147 *222 EC II (new ed) SB64, ll 52-55

His death in that battle was commemorated by the setting up of a pillar by Śrīkāma *223. The antecedents of Sīyavallavarasa cannot be discerned from the available evidence. Similarly the Dāsarahaḷḷi inscription of the same period (Bangalore taluk district) record the death of Poḷḷetāḷva Kukkara,the ruler of Bidirkkal in Kārikanāḍ,who fell in the battle against the army of Pālikkāri nāḍ. *224 Once again the social background of this local chief cannot be determined. Another eighth century inscription from Dīmbaḷa (Śrīnivāspur Taluk, Kōlār district) refers to Vejjape-arasa who was ruling Rōṇūr under Duggamāra Ẹreyappa, the son of Śrīpuruṣa who was himself ruling Kuvaḷāla nāḍu *225. The epigraph records the anointing of Sāgara Mikkāṇe as the Mane-oḍeyōr (superintendent of the royal household?)*226 and the grant of lands with all exemptions to him. While Vejjape-arasa does not seem to belong to a recognized lineage, the Mane-oḍeya appears to lay claim to descent from Sagara.

While the above instances are of the subordinates of the Gaṅgas, apparently independent local rulers who did not belong to any recognised lineage are also frequently mentioned in inscriptions of the second phase. Thus, the Sosale inscription of the close of the eighth century [T Narsipur taluk, Mysore district] mentions Vikramādityarasa who was ruling Vaḍa(kare) nāḍu - 300. The lineage of this local ruler is not given nor is there any indication of his subordination to the Gaṅgas. This is plausible as the record belongs to the period of Rāṣṭrakūṭa interregnum in Southern Karnāṭaka. The territory ruled by Vikramādityarasa is in fact the core of the Ganga kingdom being situated to the immediate north of their capital of Talakāḍ. There is no sign of Vikramāditya's subordination to the Rāṣṭrakūtas either. The inscription records the appropriation by the King of one pon during the harvest (suggi) out of the

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*223 EC IX (old ed) Hs 21,22 *224 Ibid, Bn 36.

*225 EC X (old ed) Sp 65

*226 Mane-oḍeya literally means Master (oḍeya) of the house but here is probably akin to Mane-vergaḍe,superintendent of the royal household; IEG,q.v. Mane-vergaḍe

bhaṭamānya of the palace soldiers.*227 A ninth century inscription from Muttatti (T Narsipur taluk) refers to a chief whose name is lost but who is described as Valabhīpuravarēśvara *228. Once again there is no hint of his lineage or of his subordination to the Gaṅgas. But the title of Valabhīpuravarēśvara was also held by Maṇalēra, the vassal of Būtuga II mentioned in the celebrated Āṭakūr inscription of the tenth century (Maddūr taluk, Maṇḍya district).*229 If the Valabhīpuravarēśvara mentioned in the Muttatti record belonged to the same family, then it is possible that he too claimed descent from Sagara as did Maṇalēra in the tenth century. An inscription from Beramvāḍi (Guṇḍlupēṭ taluk, Mysore district) of the tenth century refers itself to the seventh year of the tying of the paṭṭa on Cāvuṇḍa Permānaḍi, who was probably ruling Bayalnāḍu or parts of it.*230 The antecedents of this local ruler are unknown nor is it specified by whom the patta was tied on him. He appears to be totally independent. Similarly inscriptions on the pedestal of an image of Cauvīsa Tīrthankara and other items of worship found buried at Mangaḷa (Guṇḍlupēṭ taluk) and palaeographically assignable to the tenth century refer to Sarvalōkāśraya whose wife Cikka Jōgabbe probably had the image cast.*231 The plural suffix employed in referring to Cikka Jōgabbe indicates a respectable social status. The name Sarvalōkāśraya is reminiscent of the standard Cāḷukyan titles of Satyāśraya. But with the limited information at our disposal, we cannot say that he was a king.

The Mallēśvara inscription *232 of the close of the 10th century [Kaḍūr taluk,Chikmagaḷūr district] records a grant of five gaṇḍugas of land to a basadi by Cāvuṇḍa Nāyaka, the vēḷe of Lōka Vidyādharayya. The antecedents of both Cāvuṇḍa and Lōka Vidyādharayya are not specified. They appear to have held feudal rank, and Lōka Vidyādharayya probably was a local chief but the territory ruled by him is not mentioned in the inscription. Cāvuṇḍa Nāyaka too appears to have been a landholder. At all events he makes a land grant without reference to his superior. Rāṣṭrakūṭa

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*227 EC V (new ed) TN120

*228 EC V (new ed) TN 39

*229 EC VII (new ed) Mu 42

*230 EC III (new ed) Gu 219

*231 EC III (new ed) Gu 203-205

*232 EC VI (old ed) Kd 8

records also often mention local chieftains who do not appear to claim exalted descent and whose antecedents are untraceable. This is the case in the Māvali insciption of Gōvinda III Rāṣṭrakūṭa of the eighth century [Sōrāb taluk,Shimoga district] * 233. This inscription refers to Madanāgarasar as the ruler of Eḍenāḍ. Another local ruler mentioned is Madangēla whose village (gāma) was seized by Kallimmāran. The social background of all these notables is unknown. None of them, not even Madanāgarasar seems to claim any illustrious descent. Likewise the Induvaḷḷi inscription [Sōrāb taluk] of the end of the eighth century mentions one Dēḍa Nāgaṇḍa as the ruler of a nāḍ which is unfortunately not specified. *234 Once again the social background of this local ruler is not discernible. Another instance is provided by the Aradēśahaḷḷi inscription of the close of the ninth century [Dēvanakōṭe taluk, Bangalore district] which refers itself to the reign of Akālavarṣa Pṛithvivallabha (Kṛṣṇa II?). His subordinate, Gōvinda was ruling Saḷne-300 and Kuṇungil-500 by his favour.*235 As in the case of Madanāgarasar and Dēḍa Nāgaṇḍa his antecedents cannot be determined.

Under Kṛṣṇa III Rāṣṭrakūṭa, Banavāsi 12,000 appears to have changed hands frequently and in many cases these feudatories were of indeterminate origins. Thus the Beṭṭadakūrali inscription of AD 954-55 (Sorab taluk, Shimoga district) mentions Javanaiśami as the ruler of Bana(vā)si nāḍ *236 while the Bhārangi epigraph of AD957 refers to Gabbendara as the ruler of Banavāsi-12,000 * 237 as does the Hunavaḷḷi inscription of AD 968 * 238. But the Beḷagi record of AD 964 states that Bappava held the paṭṭa of Banavāsi-12,000 * 239. As we have discussed earlier * 240, it is very likely that none of these lords controlled the entire territory of Banavāsi 12,000 and hence the conflicting claims. In any case it is noteworthy that none of the individuals mentioned here cared to claim an exalted descent unlike Śāntivarmarasa

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*233 EC VIII (old ed) Sb1

*234 EC VIII (old ed) Sb 542

*235 EC IX (old ed) Dv 42

*236 EC VIII (old ed) Sb 202

*237 EC VIII (old ed) Sb 326

*238 Ibid Sb 531

*239 - ASMAR 1929, No.78, p150

*240 Vide Supra, Chap II, Sec B, Nāḍus

who claimed to belong to the Brahmakṣatriya Māṭūra vaṁśa and also held the exalted titles of Mahāsāmantādhipati and was entitled to the Pañcamahāśabdas.*241 Likewise Kadamba Cakravarti Kāmadeva, the son of a sēnādhipati of Tailapadeva of Candavūr claimed to be a Suryavaṁśi and held thetitle of Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara. He too was entitled to the Pañcamahāśabdas.*242 In contrast to these chiefs Javanaiśami,Gabbendara and Bappava appear to have been of humble extraction though it is hard to conclude merely from the silence of the records.

In AD 972-73, in the period of transition from Rāṣṭrakūṭa to Cāḷukya overlordship, we have references to a certain Kakkaladēva as ruling the kingdom of earth, an expression generally indicating overlordship and independent control. The Bennūru inscription [Sorab taluk] mentions Caṭṭaya deva, evidently Kakkaladēva's subordinate as ruling Banavāsi - 12,000.*243 However, the Jambehaḷḷi inscription *244 of the same year, AD 972-73 merely refers to Śāntivarmarasar (the Māṭūravaṁśi ?) as the king of Banavāsi-12,000 without mentioning any overlord. But the Hecche inscription of c.990 AD refers to the reign of Kakkaladēva and to the Mahāsāmanta entitled to Pañcamahāśabda,Śāntivarma ruling an unspecified unit from Heṛdese * 245. Evidently the Cāḷukyas had not strengthened their hold over Banavāsi until this time and the political situation continued to be fluid permitting obscure adventurers like Kakkaladēva to rise to the forefront for a brief space of time. Another inscription from Hecche dated AD 991 mentions Bhuvanāśraya Satyāśraya Kulatikala Cāḷukyābharaṇa Āhavamalladēva as the reigning king. Śāntivarmarasa appears to have transferred his fealty to the Cāḷukyas * 246.

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*241 EC VIII (old ed) Sb 477 of AD 991 from Hecche.

*242 EC VIII (old ed) Sagar 30 (henceforth Sa) of c.1000 AD from Kaṁbaḷikoppa.

*243 EC VIII (old ed) Sb 455.

*244 EC VIII (old ed) Sb 44

*245 EC VIII (old ed) Sb 479

*246 Ibid, Sb 477

Thus while recognized lineages such as the Gangas, Nọlambas, Bāṇas, Cālukyas etc. dominated this region and controlled most of the territory therein, many of the rulers of villages and nāḍus mentioned in the inscriptions of this period were of obscure and sometimes of discernible tribal origins. These individuals were usually subordinate to a regional or sub-regional power such as the Gangas or Rāṣṭrakūṭas. But the political situation at times favoured assumption of independence and even claim to sovereign overlordship as in the case of Kakkaladēva.

## C) OFFICIALS

Officials such as Pergades and Nādbōvas constituted another section of vassals. Originally members of the state bureaucracy or part of the rural landholding elite these groups came to hold hereditary rights over villages and nādus.

(I) Pergades : As we have seen earlier the designation Pergade was a Kannada derivative of the Sanskrit designation Adhyaksa and denoted a Chamberlain, a superintendent or a director.*247 Specialized functions were discharged by Mane vergades as superintendent of the royal household*248 and by śunka vergade as toll collector.*249 Our inscriptions provide us with one reference to the former.*250 In literary works Pergades are frequently mentioned along with royal officials. Thus in the story of Sukumārasvāmi, Nāgaśrī, the daughter of a minister visits the Nāgathāna in the company of the daughters of ministers, Pergades, Rājaśresthi, Pradhānas, and Niyōgis.*251 Pergades are usually deputed as the king's envoys in both the Vaddārādhane and the Pampa Bhārata. Thus,in the story of Sukauśalasvāmi, king Gandhabhājana of Campānagara sends his senior Pergades (Pradhāna Pergadegalam) Madhusēna and Madhusūdana to Nāgadatta śetti to ask for the hand of his daughter Sukēśini in marriage.*252 Similarly, in the story of Vrsabhasēna also, king Pradyōta of Ujjēni asks gāvunda Jinadatta for the hand of his daughter through his pergades.*253 In the Pampa Bhārata Krsna in his role as Yudhisthira's envoy is described as Pergade by Duryōdhana ('Attida nimma Pergade...').*254

In inscriptions we have but two references to Pergades in this role. The Kerehalli inscription of the close of the ninth century records that while Permādi was reigning he received homage (ōlagisi) from Tribhuvanayya, the Pergade of Nōlamba. It is apparent that Tribhuvanayya was sent to the court of Permādi which possibly denotes the Ganga king, as the envoy of Nōlamba. In addition, the inscription records the grant of bittuvatta of the tank

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*247 D.C.Sircar, I.E.G, q.v.Pergade.

*248 Ibid, q.v. Mane vergade.

*249 Ibid, q.v. Śunka vergade.

*250 EC VIII (new ed) Al 8.

*251 Vaddārādhane, op.cit.,p.56.

*252 Ibid,p 77.

*253 Ibid,p.155.

*254 Pampa Bhārata IX.89.

(at?) Sivayyanakeṛe by Tribhuvanayya its administrator. Since the inscription was found on the tank bund of Kerehaḷḷi the inscription probably refers to the same tank.*255 The relation between the two facts mentioned in the record is not clear. We cannot determine whether the grant of the bittuvaṭṭa was made after the mission or was part of it. The other reference comes from the Magge vīrgal of AD 998-999*256 which records that while Uraviyammarasa Rājādhirāja was ruling Bīra Bayal nāḍu, Konguṇi's heggaḍe (same as Pergaḍe) came asking for the distinction of an umbrella (Koḍeya bhōga.) He was apparently refused, whereupon Konguṇi gāvuṇḍa attacked Magge from Maṇale. Here again, the heggaḍe was an envoy.

For the most part, Pergaḍes were associated with the rulership of a village and were endowed with abhyantara-siddhi rights over them. Thus the Kamaravaḷḷi inscription of the eighth century (Guṇḍlupēṭ taluk) mentions Mādapaṇṇa, the son of Akkakailūr as the Pergaḍe of Ariyūr. *257 From the tenth century we have numerous references to pergaḍes holding abhyantara-siddhi rights over villages. The Bandaḷike inscription mentions Sandīvara Kuḍivuḷda as the Pergaḍe of Koḍangeyūr. Pergaḍe Nandivara Kāḷiga is also mentioned; but his area of jurisdiction is not specified. Both were subordinate to Gāvuṇḍi Jākiyabbe who held the nālgāvuṇḍu of Nāgarakhaṇḍa - 70.*258 Similarly the Kaladēvapura inscription (Maddagiri taluk, Tumkūr district) of c. AD 920 records the grant of Kalliyūr as abhyantara-siddhi to Pergaḍe Bēnayya as Kalnāḍ.*259 In addition some Pergaḍes appear to have enjoyed the rank of Mahāmātya. Thus the Ōṭūr inscription of c.AD 938 mentions Pergaḍe Poleyamma who is described as Mahāmātya-guṇa-sampanna. He constructed a tank and made a dēvadāna grant. Interestingly, his brother Pergaḍe Nākiyayya is not given the title of Mahāmātya but he is said to have held abhyantara-siddhi rights over Cittaraṭe Ōṭūr.*260

Poleyamma does not seem to be associated with abhyantara siddhi rule over villages. Were these two attributes mutually exclusive? Likewise the Tālagunda inscription (Shikārpur taluk,Shimoga district) of AD 997 mentions Pergaḍe Kālimayya who also held the

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*255 EC IV (new ed) Ch 352.

*256 EC III (new ed) Hg 142.

*257 EC III (new ed) Gu 67

*258 EC VII (old ed) Sk 219

*259 EC XII (old ed) Mi 71

*260 EC VIII (old ed) Sb 70.

title of Mahāmātya.*261 Kālimayya granted the mannēya (same as mānya- a rent free holding)*262 of Nariyāḷige-70 to Kāyimma. This would indicate that Kālimayya enjoyed a high rank in the feudatory hierarchy. He too is not apparently associated with the rulership of a village. Can we then take the title of Mahāmātya conferred on some Pergaḍes as an indication of high rank not enjoyed by others who were merely associated with abhyantara-siddhi rights over a village ?

Unlike gāvuṇḍas who were, for most part drawn from the peasantry, Pergaḍes came from varied social backgrounds. Thus the Mēlāgani inscription (Mūḷbāgāl taluk, Kōlār district) of the early ninth century mentions Pergaḍe gauḍa Śrī Pūli as the ruler of Agaḷi-12.*263 He was apparently a gāvuṇḍa originally. Likewise, the Kakkarasi inscription of AD 954 (Sorab taluk, Shimoga district) mentions Bāradavōja who held the post of Pergaḍe over the land of Kakkarasi.*264 The ōja suffix would indicate that this individual was by origin an artisan - a blacksmith, a carpenter or a goldsmith-probably the first.*265 In other cases the social background is indeterminable. This is so with Pergaḍe Nandivara Kāḷiga and Pergaḍe Sandivara Kuḍivuḷda of Koḍangeyūr.*266

Pergades too were part of the feudatory hierarchy. Thus Nandivara Kāḷiga and Sandivara Kuḍivuḷda evidently filled the position in the hierarchy normally held by ūr-gāvuṇḍas.*267 Similarly the Kaisoḍi vīrgal (Sorab taluk) of AD 951-52 mentions Cikka Śambuvanayaenira as the ruler of Eḍenāḍ-70 while Aycenna held the office of Pergaḍe under him.*268 But this point is most strikingly borne out by the Hiraṇandi inscription (Heggaḍedēvanakōṭe taluk,Mysore district) of the tenth century.*269 Here the Pergaḍes are classed together with the sāmantas and apparently played an identical role in the politics of the day.

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*261 EC VII (old ed) Sk 179.

*262 D.C.Sircar, I.E.G,q.v.Manneya.

*263 ASMAR 1926, No.100,p.87-88.

*264 EC VIII (old ed) Sb 474.

*265 F.Kittel, op.cit.q.v.oja.

*266 EC VII (old ed) Sk 219.

*267 Ibid.

*268 EC VIII (old ed) Sb 570.

*269 EC III (new ed) Hg 23., Supra Section A , fn 23

Pergaḍes thus bring out vividly the process of the feudalization of the bureaucracy. Originally royal officials, they gradually came to be associated with rulership of villages. Others, enjoying a higher rank in the feudal hierarchy could dispose of an entire unit without reference to a superior.

(II) NĀḌABŌVAS: Unlike the Pergaḍes, Nāḍabōvas appear to have retained their original character as members of the bureaucracy. The designation seems to have been derived from that of sēnabōva which denoted a village accountant.*270 Nāḍabōvas were probably their counterparts at the nāḍu level. We have a few epigraphic references to sēnabōvas in our records. In two inscriptions from Shimoga sēnabōvas appear as scribes.*271 In the Kaṇatūr inscription (Ālūr taluk, Hassan district) also a sēnabōva Dhōrapayya acted as a scribe and apparently received a grant ('ida bareda sēnabōva Dhorapayyage Koṭṭa śāsana'). The details of the supplementary grant are not given. *272 In the Bāgaḷi inscription (Chāmrājanagar taluk, Mysore district) a sēnabova was one of the donors together with the Pergaḍe Jōgapayya and the Three Hundred.*273 Thus our inscriptions do not bring out the sēnabōva's functions as a village accountant. They appear rather mostly as scribes and received land for the discharge of their functions.

In the case of the Nāḍabōva the two available references depict them as part of the tax collecting machinery of the state. The Īśvarahaḷḷi inscription (Chikmagaḷūr taluk, district) of the ninth century is the earliest available epigraphic reference to a Nāḍabōva. The Nāḍabōva together with the Nāḷgāvuṇḍa of Erenāḍ are exhorted to respect the remission of the tax on ghee made in favour of a group of merchants.*274 The Beḷaguḷi inscription (Arkalagūḍ taluk, Hāssan district) of the tenth century which records the grant of the village Beḷgaḷi as Kalnāṭu to Ankada Kēṭayya, the vēlevāḷi of Queen Rēvakanimmaḍi warns the Nāḍabōva and the Nāḷgāvuṇḍa from entering the village to collect aṭṭadere and kuṟudere (taxes).*275

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*270 D.C.Sircar, I.E.G.,q.v.sēnabōva.

*271 EC VIII (old ed) Sb 474 of AD 954 and EC VII (old ed) Sk 179 of AD 997.

*272 EC VIII (new ed) Al 8 of c.AD 1020, l.19.

*273 EC IV (new ed) Ch 114 of the tenth century. *274 ASMAR 1922-23,No.4,p.40.

*275 EC VIII (new ed) Ag.41.

Thus Nāḍabōvas together with Nālgāvuṇḍas were apparently saddled with the responsibility for the collection of taxes for the king in the villages which were not granted either to brāhmaṇas or to secular assignees as abhyantara siddhi. We have no information on how they were remunerated for their services. It is possible that they too enjoyed rights over the produce of designated villages but we have no certain evidence in support.

(III) PRABHUS

The earliest reference to a Prabhu comes from the Belavaṭṭe inscription (Mysore taluk) of the eighth century which records the death of Mahāprabhu Gōvapayya and the grant of a kalnāḍ probably by the king.*276 There is no evidence here to connect him with the chieftaincy of a nāḍu. The ninth century Doḍḍa Kuñce inscription (Hoḷe Narsipur taluk, Hāssan district) of the ninth century seems to indicate that Prabhus were associated with administration since it records the remission of taxes on ghee in perpetuity granted to the Mahājanas of Kuñce by Permāḍi and Prabhu Kāmayya.*277

The Marūru and Karagaḍa inscriptions on the other hand seem to suggest that the Prabhus constituted a local corporate group like the nāṭṭār of Tamil Nadu who were responsible,inter alia for the demarcation of the boundaries of the gift lands.*278 The Marūru inscription of the ninth century (Arkalgūḍ taluk, Hāssan district) records the grant of lands to Akhaṇḍa bhaṭāra as vidyādāna by Taddayya. The lands were demarcated (maṇṇa baḷasida) by prabhus who included Būva gāvuṇḍa, Kannamma, Padi Ayyapa, Duddayya, Aycaṇṇa and Dēvaṇa. Their place of origin is not specified and with the exception of the gāvuṇḍa, the occupations of the other individuals are unknown. Perhaps they were local landholders but in the absence of specific information we can never be certain.*279 Likewise the Karagaḍa inscription (Bēlūr taluk, Hāssan district) of AD 971 which records the grant of five khaṇḍugas of land to Bāsa gāvuṇḍa for his distinguished role in the battle of Uccangi mentions once again the Prabhus who demarcated the lands. They were (i) Permāḍi gāvuṇḍa, (ii) Nāgayya of Muguḷi, (iii) Basavayya of Basavanahaḷḷi, (iv) Pōci gāvuṇḍa of Uppavaḷḷi, (v) Vaḷiyeṟe Mudda and (vi) Eṟega of Māguṇḍi. The inscription also mentions the seventy-six (Ēḷpattāṛa) prabhugaḷ of Benneyūr.*280 Unlike the Marūru inscription the Karagaḍa record specifies the place of origin of the Prabhus, who once again included gāvuṇḍas in their number.

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*276 EC V (new ed) My 117.

*277 EC VIII (new ed) HN 97.

*278 B.Stein, op.cit.,p.119.

*279 EC VIII (new ed) Ag 28.

*280 EC XV (rev.ed) Bl 308

B.D.Chattopadhyaya draws our attention to the practice of drawing select representatives from different settlements in the context of landsale transactions in Gupta and post Gupta Bengal. Similarly in Kalikaṭṭi (Arsīkere taluk, Hāssan district) during the Hoysaḷa period social conflict in the village was settled in the presence not merely of the subjects (praje) of the village, but also of the three prabhu gāvuṇḍas of the nāḍu and people from other settlements.*281 Perhaps this practice is foreshadowed in the Marūru and Karagaḍa epigraphs. Similarly, the Chikmagaḷūr inscription which has been cited earlier records the demarcation (balasidōr) of the boundaries by individuals from neighbouring settlements, led by the Nālgāmuṇḍa.*282 The term prabhu is however, not used in this record. Interestingly all these inscriptions, occur in the same geographical tract of the Vēdāvati valley. Kalikaṭṭi too falls in the same region. Thus prabhus appear to be an informally constituted body of notables drawn together to witness a land grant and demarcate boundaries. Their association with nāḍu chieftaincy is not borne out in our records.

(IV) NĀḶGĀMIGAS:

Inscriptions from Shimoga mention Gāmigas whose precise socio-political status cannot be determined from available evidence. The earliest reference to Gāmigas comes from the Māvali inscription (Sorab taluk, Shimoga district) of the end of the eighth century. This records the conquest of Madangēla's village by Kallimāran. Seeing this, the Nāḷgāmigas fought back and fell fighting at the fort of Vasavūr.*283 A similar reference comes from the Induvaḷḷi inscription of the same period (Sorab taluk).*284 This records the invasion of Vasavūr by Biṭṭiga and Eṟega the Nāḷgauḍigas (same as Nāḷgāmuṇḍa?) of Goḷḷiga nāḍ. It was liberated by the Nāḷgāmigas. The inscription specifically commemorates the valour of Gāḍigan Kāḷira, one of the Nāḷgāmigas. From these references it would appear that Nāḷgāmigas were Nāḍu level officials responsible for the defence of the Nāḍu.

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*281 B.D.Chattopadhyaya, Aspects of Rural Settlements and Rural Society in Early Medieval India, Calcutta 1990, p113,126

*282 EC VI, (old ed) Cm 3.

*283 EC VIII (old ed) Sb 1.

*284 Ibid, Sb 542.

Gāmiga is probably the tadbhava form of Grāmika which signified a village headman.*285 Other inscriptions from Shimoga district mention Gāmigas. Thus another inscription from Māvali of the close of the eighth century records the valour and death in battle of Kulamudda gāmigar. He received four oxen (?) and wet fields as compensation.*286 Here once more Gāmigas appear to be associated with defence. But the body of Nālgāmigas is not mentioned in this inscription. Another reference to Gāmiga comes from the ninth century Śālūr inscription (Shikārpur taluk, Shimoga district). Unlike the earlier records this epigraph is not concerned with defence of a village or Nāḍu. It merely registers the grant of land by the son of Pubbāmiga and Mālengi gāmigitti.*287 Gāmigitti signifies the wife of a gāmiga. Surprisingly Pubbāmiga is not given the epithet of gāmiga unless it be assumed that Pubbāmiga is an orthographic error for Pubba gāmiga, for which we have no certain evidence. Did Mālengi then acquire the title by virtue of heredity or was she invested with it after the death of her husband? At all events her son too, is not invested with the title of gāmiga. It is noteworthy that this individual granted land without reference to his superiors.

When all the references are taken together it would seem that Gāmigas were either village headman or had substantial land-holdings. The plural suffix to Gāmiga in the reference to Kulamudda gāmigar implies a respectable social status. It is possible that the Gāmigas of a nāḍu constituted a corporate group which undertook the defence of the nāḍu in the frequent inter-nāḍu conflicts of the period.*288 It is also striking that all references to Gāmigas come only from Shimoga inscriptions of the end of the eighth and the ninth century. Were they replaced by some other officers or group later on? We can only speculate.

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*285 D.C.Sircar, I.E.G.,q.v.Grāmika. *286 EC VIII (old ed) Sb 10

*287 EC VII (old ed) Sk 283.

*288 EC IX (old ed) Bn 36. of the eighth and EC III (new ed) Hg 5 of the ninth century provide two instances of inter-nāḍu conflict.

## D) THE RURAL LAND HOLDING ELITE - THE GAVUNDAS

Gāvuṇḍas were drawn from the peasantry. We have referred earlier to Vikramāditya gāvuṇḍa the Kōlālaviṣayādhipati who was granted Bēdirūr grāma by Bhūvikrama Ganga in AD 634-35.*289 Vikramāditya gāvuṇḍa is described as satśūdra which implies his peasant extraction.

The term gāvuṇḍa has the following connotations (i) the (śūdra) Chief Officer of a village, (ii) a title of honour among peasants and (iii) a good caste of peasants.*290 The peasant extraction of gāvuṇḍas is further borne out by the Tallapaḷḷi and Pilāvara inscriptions (Bowringpēt taluk, Kōlār district) of the eighth century. These record the death in battles between Ganga Śrīvibhava Muttarasa and a Bāṇa of Bolva Ganga gāmuṇḍa*291 and Aṇṇa gāmuṇḍa.*292 Both of them are described as tenants (okkal) of Kogali and Maṇayatūr respectively.

By the tenth century, however,the gāvuṇḍas were distinguished from the class of tenants (okkal) as the Tāyalūr inscription (Maddūr taluk,Maṇḍya district) of AD 907*293 indicates. This epigraph records the construction of a tank at Tāyalūr by Kaccāvara Poḷalaśeṭṭi. The gāmuṇḍas and the okkal of Kadarūr then got together to grant 35 gaṇḍugas of which five gaṇḍugas were for personal enjoyment after the payment of the pattondi (tax) on the remaining thirty gaṇḍugas. A further payment of fifteen paṇas in lōha drammas is stipulated although the grant is said to be made with all exemptions (sarva parihāra). Apart from recording the cleavage which had developed between the gāvuṇḍas and okkal this record also implies that the local assembly of the gāmuṇḍas and the okkal could levy taxes and dispose of lands independently of any superior authority. This is further attested by the Doḍḍahomma inscription (Nanjanagūḍ taluk,Mysore district) of AD 977. This records the grant by the Twelve (Pannirvaru) of Piriyahoḷma and Ayyapa gāvuṇḍa, of lands and a

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*289 Chapter III, Section B, p 151 , fn 272-273

*290 F.Kittel, op.cit.,q.v.,gāvuḍa; D.C.Sircar,I.E.G., q.v.,gāvuṇḍa.

*291 EC X (old ed) Bp 13.

*292 ASMAR 1924-25,No.73.

*293 EC VII (new ed) Mu 56.

contribution of one load from the land of each okkal, ten Kolas of paddy (bhatta) and a pair of bullocks (balivatta?) for a Śākta temple probably at Piriyaholma itself which is described as a sthāna of Śakti Parișe.*294 In this case the composition of the local assembly is not known. But the assembly together with the gāvuṇḍa who was in this case probably the headman could grant lands and levy contributions from the okkal without a reference to a superior power.

The Piriyaholma inscription gives us no hint as to the composition of the local corporate body, the Twelve. We have numerous such references to local groups addressed merely in numerical terms.*295 The membership of these bodies cannot be determined precisely. In Tamil Nadu the local corporate bodies of the ūr were composed of the local landholding elite,the vellālar.*296 Similarly, we might posit that the majority of these local corporations mentioned in our inscriptions were composed of the gāvuṇḍas, the Karnataka counterpart of the vellālar. In at least two cases, we have evidence for the membership of the gāvuṇḍas in these local bodies. A tenth century record from Nagarle which registers the grant of an enclosed black soil field (mutteṟe) by Vidyādharayya for the temple of Nannayya at Nagarala for the purpose of imparting education (vidyādāna) and feeding ascetics (bratigaluṇban) mentions the Twelve of Nagarala together with the (inhabitants of) Sakkile, Beḷgundūr, Kiṟuveḷgundūr, Sattiyūr, and Singūr, the Mahāparișe, and the three Nāḷgāmuṇḍas of Edenāḍ as witnesses.*297 A fragmentary inscription from the same place and of the same period also mentions Vidyādhara and the Twelve gāvuṇḍas of Nagarala.*298 It is more than probable that the Twelve of Nagarala referred to in the earlier record relates to the Twelve gāvuṇḍas.,in other words the Twelve of Nagarala were gāvuṇḍas. Another reference to gāvuṇḍas constituting the local body comes from the Mangaḷa inscription

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*294 EC III (new ed) Nj 294.

*295 EC III (new ed) Nj 187,282; EC IV (new ed) Ch 82,347,147, Ko 10; Yl 138; EC VII (old ed) Sk 219; EC IX (old ed) Ht12; ASMAR 1920, No.24; etc.

*296 Y.Subbarayalu; "The Cola state and the Agrarian Order - some clarifications", Paper presented to the seminar on The state in Precolonial South India, J.N.U.,New Delhi, March,1989, p 5.

*297 EC III (new ed) Nj 239. *298 Ibid, Nj 240.

of the tenth century. This records the grant of four Khaṇḍugas of wetland (nīrman) as Keṟeguḍage (gift for maintenance of the tank) by the Twelve gāvu(ṇḍas) of Mangaḷa.*299 Another inscription dated AD 964 records the grant of twelve paḷḷis to the Pergaḍe Mācayya the gāvuṇḍa of Mangaḷa.*300 There is no reference to the Twelve gāvuṇḍas in this record, nor does it specify whether Mācayya was the headman of Mangaḷa or merely one of the numerous landholders of the village.

Inscriptions from Shimoga clearly mention gāvuṇḍas as headmen. The expression used is "ūrgāmuṇḍu gēyyuttire" (held or exercised the gāmuṇḍu of the ūr ) Thus the Beṭṭadakūrali inscription of AD 954-55 refers to Biṭṭiga as holding the nāḷgāmuṇḍu while Sesigal held the gāmuṇḍu of Bīvanūr.*301 The Beḷagi inscription (Sorab taluk,Shimoga district)which has been cited earlier indicates that nāḷgāmuṇḍas were drawn from among the ūrgāmuṇḍas of a nāḍu.*302 It is not clear whether nāḷgāmuṇḍas always held the headship of the nāḍu and the ūr concurrently as in this case. That this might have been the usual practice is indicated also by the Mūḍlupāḷya inscription (Māgadi taluk, Bangalore district) of AD 968 which records the death of Daḍiga, the son of Ganga gacca, the nāḷgāvuṇḍa of Maṇṇe nāḍ-300 in defence of his village.*303 Though neither Daḍiga nor Ganga gacca is specifically stated to have been the ūrgāvuṇḍa, the death in defence of the village might possibly indicate that it was their original base.

Two inscriptions from Mālūrpaṭna (Channapaṭna taluk,Bangalore district) also support the inference drawn from the Beḷagi inscription that nāḷgāvuṇḍas were derived from the village headmen's ranks. Thus Kottayyan Uttaman, alias Śōḷa Viccādira Kkāmuṇḍan who is mentioned as the gāvuṇḍa of Manalūr in a Mālūrpaṭna record of AD 1013*304 is referred to as the nāṭṭu gāvuṇḍa in a record of the following year.*305 It is not clear whether Kottayyan Uttaman concurrently held the two offices. In AD 1007 the nāṭṭu gāmuṇḍa was one Śōḷa Vijjādiva gāmuṇḍa.*306

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*299 EC IV (new ed) Ch 141.

*300 Ibid, Ch 138.

*301 EC VIII (old ed) Sb 202.

*302 ASMAR 1929, No.78,p.150.

*303 EC IX (old ed) Ma 75.

*304 EC IX (old ed) Cp 135.

*305 Ibid Cp 129.

*306 Ibid Cp 132.

That the ūrgāvuṇḍu or nāḷgāvuṇḍu implied headship of the ūr or nāḍu is further indicated by the Bhārangi inscription of AD 957 which after stating that Ereġa held the ūrgāmuṇḍu of Bhārangi, records a cattle raid by Pebba (gāmuṇḍa) of Bhārangi.*307 Pebba gāmuṇḍa was evidently a landholder in the village but was not the headman. It is possible that here we have the beginnings of the division between Prabhu gāmuṇḍas and Praje gāmuṇḍas which was to crystallize in the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries.*308

This is not to say that we do not have references to more than one individual holding the ūr or nāḍ headship. Thus the Bechirākh Kōḍipura inscription (Nanjanagūḍ taluk,Mysore district) of the tenth century records the conferment of gāvuṇḍu of Gaṭṭavāḍi on the Śelabhyeyaru and the Āneyaru. Did this denote two groups or two families? The inscription is not very clear. It further appears to register the construction of a tank by the Śelabhyeyaru and the Āneyaru and gifts of land for its maintenance.*309 Similarly, the Nagarle inscription cited earlier mentions the three Nāḷgāvuṇḍas of Eḍenāḍ as witnesses to the grant.*310 The Gaṭṭavāḍi plates of Ereyappa II record that the boundaries of Śivayyamangaḷa were demarcated by the Nāḷgāmuṇḍas together with the (assemblies of) ūr of Karggeṛe, Perggeyvāḍi, Kavilande, Muḷti, Bellamvāḍi and Gaṭṭavāḍi after exchanging betel leaves and areca nuts ('tāmbhūla śravaṇa geydu') as a token of agreement.*311

The Gaṭṭavāḍi plates imply that demarcating boundaries in consultation with local notables was a function of the nāḷgāvuṇḍas. This is also brought out by the tenth century Chikmagaḷūr inscription which records a grant of land to Permāḍi goṇḍa. The lands were

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*307 EC VIII (old ed) Sb 326.

*308 B.D.Chattopadhyaya, Aspects of Rural Settlements and Rural Society in Early Medieval India, Calcutta 1990, p. 106.

*309 EC III (new ed) Nj 320.

*310 EC III (new ed) Nj 239.

*311 EC III (new ed) Nj 402.

demarcated by the Nālgāmuṇḍa Bīyala together with Komarayya of Piriyamuguḷi, Mendamma of Palmāḍi, Dēvagaṇa of Beṇṇeyūr, Permāḍi gāmuṇḍa of Maḷḷavūr, Cāmayya of Urppavaḷḷi and Viṭṭiyya of Indavūr.*312

Collection of taxes was another responsibility of the nālgāmuṇḍas. This is brought out by the Īśvarahaḷḷi inscription (Chikamagalur taluk) of the ninth century.*313 Likewise the Sulidēnahaḷḷi inscriptions of AD 1017-18 (Kōlār taluk,district) which record the levy of a contribution of a goat per inhabitant (?) of Kaivāra nāḍu by the nāṭṭōm for the guardian deity of the nāḍu, goddess Cāmuṇḍēśvari of Jayangoṇḍacaturvēdimangaḷam hold the nāṭṭu gāmuṇḍas and the ūr gāmuṇḍas responsible for the execution of the gift. If they failed to supply the goat they were to be fined a hundred Kaḷañjus of gold.*314

As local notables gāvuṇḍas were generally enlisted as witnesses to grants. Thus the Baḷigāmi inscription (Shikārpur taluk, Shimoga district) of AD 685 which records the remission of aḷavaṇa (tax) on festival days (osageyum) and the escheat of heirless persons by Kandarbor, the officer (adhikāri) of Sēndraka mahārāja includes Sokka gāmuṇḍa of Ālamvaḷḷi, Eḍeya gāmuṇḍa, Maṇiya gāmuṇḍa of Moḷe-ūr, Aṇḍugiya gāmuṇḍa and Sindhēra gāmuṇḍa of Nirilli.*315 Similarly, the Gañjam copper plates of Yuvarāja Mārasimha includes Mārasimha gāvuṇḍa and Ereganga gāvuṇḍa of Muduguppe, Ūrkaṇe gāvuṇḍa and Bhīma gāvuṇḍa of Maravūr, Śriya gāvuṇḍa of Beḷḷimaṇi, Uttama gāvuṇḍa and Kunda gāvuṇḍa of Perbbala and Ripurāma gāvuṇḍa and Prithuvi gāvuṇḍa of Samgama*316 in its list of witnesses. A similar list is given in the Gaḷigekere copper plates of Raṇavikramayya(Nītimārga Ereyanga I) of the ninth century, which records the grant of Kolanellūru as brahmadēya. The witnesses were Permānaḍi gāvuṇḍa of Samgama, Raṇavikrama gāvuṇḍa, Cōḷa gāvuṇḍa, Ummāda gāvuṇḍa of Miṛide, Ereyanga gāvuṇḍa, Indara gāvuṇḍa of Muduguppe, Dāma gāvuṇḍa, Ummāda gāvuṇḍa of Pērvoḷalu and Pilduvi

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*312 EC VI (old ed) Cm 3.

*313 ASMAR 1922-23, No.4; p.40, Supra Section C-II, fn 274

*314 EC X (old ed) Kl 25,26.

*315 EC VII (old ed) Sk 154.

*316 EC VI (new ed) Sr 66.

gāvuṇḍa. Other witnesses were Tenandākara of Pērvāyalu and Śalattār and Varadar of Kolanellūru.*317

It was common for subordinates to bear the titles or names of the reigning king in the early medieval period. In Karnāṭaka this practice was particularly common among the gāvuṇḍas. Both the Gañjam and Gaḷigekere plates provide us with instances. When the Cōḷas conquered this region, the practice became commonplace. Thus the Śōladēvanahaḷḷi inscription (Nelamangaḷa taluk, Bangalore district) of AD 1029*318 which records the construction of the Siddhēśvara temple by Vāmanayya and the grant of twelve khaṇḍugas of wet land as dēvabhōga mentions the following individuals:

(i) Raṭṭakulakāla Cōḷa gāvuṇḍa, the Nālgāvuṇḍa of Kukkanūr nāḍu; and

(ii) Nityavinōda Māṇikka śeṭṭi of Bāṇapura both of whom received gold from the donor Vāmanayya.

(iii) Vikrama Cōḷa gāvuṇḍa

(iv) Rājarājaśeṭṭi of Piriya Maḷtuvūr

(v) Cōḷa gāvuṇḍa of Ālūr

(vi) Nālgāvuṇḍa Kumārankuśa gāvuṇḍa of Saṇṇe nāḍ

(vii) Uttama Cōḷa gāvuṇḍa of Pattandūr.

(viii) Nālgāvuṇḍa Cōḷa gāvuṇḍa of Kirukundācci nāḍ.

(ix) Mummaḍi Cōḷa gāvuṇḍa of Baḷevāḍi in Maṇṇe nāḍ

(x) Cāḷukyābharaṇa gāvuṇḍa of Kiṟugūḍalu;

all of whom were witnesses. All these are names or birudas of various Cōḷa monarchs.

The process by which a gāvuṇḍa took on the name or title of the reigning king is described in the Karshanapalle inscription (Punganūr zamindari, Chittoor district, Andhra Pradesh) of the late tenth or early eleventh century. This records that Nōḷamba Vīra Mahēndra II on his way from Cōḷnāḍu to Nōḷambavāḍi, stopped at Kōḷāla in Ganga-6000 and annointed Kīrtti gāmuṇḍa's son (paṭṭavam kaṭṭi). The annointed individual was apparently given the title of Nōḷamba gāmuṇḍa and the gift of Beḷagatūr in Puḷināṭṭakeṟe.*319 The Karshanapalle inscription thus brings out both the ties of personal allegiance that bound the

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*317 EC V (new ed) Kn 105. *318 EC IX (old ed) Nl 1.

*319 S.I.I., Vol IX, Part (i) No.39

gāmuṇḍa to the king and the process by which the gāmuṇḍas were vested with rights over villages.

While the grant of Beḷagatūr to Nōlamba gāvuṇḍa was apparently made in expectation of future service, the Dhanugūr inscription (Maḷavalli taluk, Maṇḍya district) of AD 960 records the grant of Dhanugūr in Baḍagare nāḍ as kalnāḍu to gāvuṇḍa Bīyaḷamma. Some confusion is introduced by the inscription by also recording the grant of the same village to Ācama of Dharamukhyānvaya as kalnāḍu in perpetuity.*320 It is possible that the grant initially made to Ācama was entrusted to Bīyaḷamma, a kinsman. But this is not clear from the record. The service performed by either Ācama or Bīyaḷamma is also not specified. But the term kalnāḍ would imply recognition of the military service*321 performed by either individual. Similarly, an undated ninth century record from Iggaḷi*322 (Nanjanagud taluk,Mysore district) registers the grant of Mādigere as vaḷita (estate)*323 by Piḷduvi Ganga to Adhikāri gāvuṇḍa, Carama gāvuṇḍa and Śivāya gāvuṇḍa for protecting the cattle of Iggaḷi. Other instances of gāvuṇḍas' participation in local and inter-dynastic conflicts and grants to them of land and villages have been cited in another context.*324

Thus whether as the rural landholding elite or as fief-holders, gāvuṇḍas emerged as an important section of intermediaries between the king and the tiller. We do not have much information on the rights held by the gāvuṇḍas in village lands. Grants of villages as kalnāḍ occasionally carried with it the rights of abhyantara siddhi*325 which denoted control over the entire resources of a village and perhaps the rights of adjudication as well. Sarva parihāra or exemption from all dues is also a frequently employed term used to qualify such

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*320 EC VII (new ed) Ml 50.

*321 D.C.Sircar, I.E.G, q.v.Kalnadu explains the term as setting up of a hero stone. But in our records the term is always used in connection with grants to heroes.

*322 EC III (new ed) Nj 205

*323 D.C.Sircar, I.E.G q.v.,valita, vanita.

*324 Infra, Section E, Service Assignments, (I) and (II).

*325 supra,p 187 , fn 144-146 vide I.E.G.,q.v.abhyantara siddhi.

grants. But the Tāyalūr inscription indicates that even such lands carried the burden of some dues, at least, whether payable to the king or the village assembly. This is similar to the iraiyili (tax-free) grants mentioned in Cōla inscriptions which definitely brought some taxes to the king.*326

In twelfth and thirteenth century Tamil Nādu we have evidence for kāni rights being held by influential individuals who also bore titles or araiyan, vēlān and ālvān. The right of kāni in the opinion of Karashima denoted a hereditary right of possession of land.*327 It was later replaced by the Persian term mīrās which included not merely the right to a plot of land alone but a complex of rights to lands, houses, water, etc.,and the enjoyment of taxes and privileges.*328 Similar rights and privileges were apparently held by service assignees in southern Karnātaka in the period under study. Whether the ordinary gāvunda landholders held similar rights is not clear from our sources. But the headship of a nādu (nālgāvunda) at least carried such perquisites. This is indicated by the Belagi inscription which states that the nālgāvunda of Jiddūrālge-70 included the living (bālige) of Balligāmi.*329

In some cases we have references to more than one individual holding the gāvundu whether of an ūr or of a nādu. A similar situation is described by Perlin in seventeenth and eighteenth century Maharashtra where many different individuals could hold shares in the headship of a village (mokadami) or of a district (deshmukhi). Here even with many people holding rights to the produce of a given village or territory, each individual held a well-defined legally protected channel through which his writ ran fiat. Such rights could be sold and purchased freely in seventeenth century Maharashtra and were held as property.*330 For the same period in Tamil Nādu also we have evidence for sale and transfer of mīrāsi

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*326 Ibid, q.v.,sarva-mānya.

*327 N.Karashima "The New Agrarian Order" in idem,South Indian History and Society: Studies from Inscriptions AD 850-1800,pp 18-20.

*328 Idem, "Mīrāsidars in the Chingleput Area in the seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries", in Ibid, p,175.

*329 ASMAR 1929,No.78,p.150.

rights and of ownership of shares (pangu) in a mīrās.*331 For southern Karnāṭaka in the period under study, although we have references to more than one individual holding a gāvuṇḍu which here also probably implied a well-defined legal channel for exploitation of resources, we do not have evidence for the free sale and transfer of such rights and privileges. Either the gāvuṇḍu was hereditary or was conferred by the king or overlord.*332

Gāvuṇḍas as local notables and state functionaries discharged important functions such as collection of taxes, demarcation of grant lands and execution of land grants by kings. They also were enlisted as witnesses. In cases where they were bestowed fiefs in expectation of service they were probably military commanders as well as is borne out by the Bandaḷike inscription.*333

That gāvuṇḍas were part of the feudatory hierarchy is indicated not merely by inscriptions but also by literary works such as the Vaḍḍārādhane. Here, in the story of Vṛṣabhasēna bhaṭāra, king Pradyōta of Ujjēni marries the daughter of an ūr-gāvuṇḍa and bestows the Mahādēvīvaṭṭa on her.*334 We have seen in another context that kings stressed the importance of kula when entering into matrimonial alliances.*335 The marriage of a gāvuṇḍa's daughter to a king and her rise to Mahādēvī status would indicate the basic unity in the ranks of the landholding elite.

While the majority of the gāvuṇḍas emerged from the class of cultivating tenants, we have some references to gāvuṇḍas belonging to tribes and occupational groups. Evidently gāvuṇḍa came to denote chiefship of a community or group. Thus the eighth century

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*330 Frank Perlin "Concepts of Order and Comparison,with a diversion on Counter-Ideologies and Corporate Institutions in late Pre-colonial India" in H.Mukhia and T.J.Byres (ed) op.cit., pp 135-138.

*331 N.Karashima, "Mirasidars in the Chinglepet Area..." loc.cit.,p.176.

*332 Infra, Section E(II).

*333 EC VII (old ed) Sk 219.

*334 Vaḍḍārādhane, op.cit.,p.155.

*335 Supra, Section B(X), p.201 , fn 209.

Basavaṭṭi inscription (Chāmarājanagar taluk,Mysore district) mentions Kalipaṭṭoḍeya Kuṟimba gāvuṇḍa (chief of shepherds) who together with Kaṭakaya was granted two gaṇḍugas of land and taxes of land (maṇṇa ḍeṟe) and the remission of taxes on shepherds (Kuṟimba ḍeṟe) for all times ('ella kālakkam').*336 We cannot determine from available evidence the extent of stratification in the ranks of the shepherds. But the grant recorded in this inscription would have had the effect of raising the gāvuṇḍa above the community. The reason for the grant is not stated. It is possible that it represented the process of assimilation of the shepherds into the Ganga political structure. The Beḷachavāḍi inscription (Guṇḍlupēṭ taluk, Mysore district) of AD 1013*337 records the grant of Naraṇāgala village to Mēlāroḍeya Mārayya by Jēḍuvara Eṟeyanga gāvuṇḍa and Kuṟuvatti Bēḍa gāvuṇḍa of Peṟāya. Both were apparently subordinates of Permāḍi gāvuṇḍa who held the nālgāvuṇḍu. Jēḍuvara gāvuṇḍa probably denotes headship of the weaver community,*338 while Bēḍa gāvuṇḍa was probably the chief of the Bēḍas, a hunters' tribe.*339 It is interesting to note that both chiefs made these grants apparently without reference to their superior. It is not quite clear how they came to possess rights over Naraṇāgala. Both appear to belong to Pēṟāya. At all events both Jēḍuvara Eṟeyanga gāvuṇḍa and Kuṟuvatti Bēḍa gāvuṇḍa were part of the early medieval state polity, making grants of a village probably to a brāhmaṇa though this is not clearly specified.

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*336 EC IV (new ed) Ch 126.

*337 EC III (new ed) Gu 48.

*338 F.Kittel, op.cit.,q.v. Jēḍa.

*339 Ibid, q.v.Bēḍa.

## E) SERVICE ASSIGNMENTS

Apart from feudatories whether of recognised ruling lineages or obscure origins, service assignees formed a major section of the variegated ranks of secular feudatories. The majority of these service assignments were made to heroes who perished in local or interlineage conflicts. Grants were made by local corporate bodies, by local chieftains or headmen as well as rulers,and ranged from small plots of land for the dependents of the hero,to whole villages or even larger politico-geographical units depending on the hero's status and service. Generally but not invariably these grants were made posthumously and were designated Kalnāḍu or bālgaḷcu. Inscriptions by and large state that the deceased hero received the grant whereas it meant that the recipients were his heirs and dependents. In the discussion below, the epigraphic idiom is retained. While the majority of heroes received grants, a significant number of hero stones merely commemorate the deeds of valour of the local hero and do not record any grants to them or their dependents.

While grants made to heroes account for the major portion of the secular service grants we also have records registering some kind of contract between an overlord and vassal which was symbolized by the tying of a paṭṭa (fillet). Grants of land usually accompanied the act of tying of the paṭṭa and sometimes the anointed individual went on to make a brahmadēya or dēvadāna grant after receiving lands from his superior. Contemporary literature links such anointing ceremonies with battles with the Commander-in-chief being bestowed the vīrapaṭṭa by the king.*340 Such a linkage is not brought out in epigraphic sources.

Literary sources also highlight the close, mutual bonds between the king and his warriors. The king supported the warrior materially in return for which the warrior was obliged to fight even to death in his master's interest. This obligation termed jōḷapāḷi in the literary works is not much attested to in inscriptions. However, a special class of warriors who were obliged to die with their master is frequently mentioned in inscriptions. These warriors were termed vēḷevāḷis and were recepients of Kalnāḍu grants.

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340 Infra, Chapter V, Section B, pp.302ff, fn 200-217.

GRANTS TO HEROES : As stated above grants to heroes covered a vast range from a small plot of land donated by local rulers- village headmen or a corporate group or local chief,for heroes who perished in defence of the village in cattle raid encounters,to grants of a whole village to a velevali or local notable in recognition of service by the overlord, or even the grant of nalgavunda's position for the family members of a hero or sometimes lordship of a whole politico-geographical unit.

(I) GRANTS TO LOCAL HEROES :

An early instance of the small-scale grants of land made to heroes who perished in local skirmishes is provided by the Hulikunda inscription of the mid-eighth century which records the grant of four gulas of land by Miligēyarasu and Attāni,for Nāgadēva who rescued cattle * 341. Likewise the Balla vīrgal of C 780 AD [ Mūlbāgāl taluk, Kōlār district] records the death of Turuvalla Ūvalan in a cattle raid on Balla by Karapūran the son of Ranamukha Dutta. Ūvalan received five gulas of land yielding one paddy crop from Māsakuttiyaru and Attāni in appreciation of his valour * 342. These two individuals seem to have been local notables. Similarly the Hebata inscription of C 870 AD [Śrinivāspur taluk, Kōlār district] records an invasion on Perbatta by Aggala of Bidirūr. Bidiyēta who fought in this battle probably as a defender of Perbatta received a grant of 1 gula of land from Brahmaśiva batārar, with all exemptions * 343. Perbatta was the seat of a Śaiva monastic establishment and Brahmaśiva batārar was probably the pontiff at the time * 344. A similar grant of land is recorded in the fragmentary Tōremāvu inscription [Nanjangūd taluk, Mysore district] which is palaeographically assigned to the ninth century. This registers the grant of five gulas of cultivable (bede) land to Kuppa, the younger brother of Kaliyanna who appears to have perished in a cattle raid (turugōl). Unfortunately it is unclear who the donor was in this case. A gāvunda is mentioned earlier in the inscription but the lacunae make it difficult to come to any conclusion * 345.

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341 EC X (old ed) Bp 48

343 EC X (old ed) Mb 92

343 EC X (old ed) Sp 27

344 Vide Infra Section F(II)

345 EC III (new ed) Nj 180

An interesting case of a small scale grant made to a local hero is recorded in the tenth century Honnūru inscription [Yelandūru taluk, Mysore district]. This record, dated in the third regnal year of Permānaḍi registers the grant of 5 gulas of cultivable land under the tank for Ponnavayya who died in a cattle raid. The grant was made by Ponnavayya's elder (piriya) who also planted the stone. It is not clear who this elder was. Was he a member of Ponnavayya's family or was he a respected senior member of the village ? We can only speculate * 346.

Occasionally such Kalnāḍ grants were made by corporate groups. This is brought out by the Bhaktarahaḷḷi vīrgal [Sidlaghaṭṭa taluk, Kōlār district] of c AD 870 which records the death of Tingaṇimāra Meḷitingaṇi in a rescue of the cattle of Madalur which were carried off by Kakkara. The Seventy four [Ēḷpattanāllaru], possibly of Mādalūr made a grant of five guḷas of rice land and five of wasteland (pāḷu) *347. The social composition of this corporate group cannot be discerned from available evidence but it is interesting to note that they had the authority to alienate waste lands. The inscriptions also brings out the steady whittling down of common rights in the waste lands * 348. A similar grant of waste lands is recorded in the Tinnilli inscription [Śrīnivāspur taluk , Kōlār district] of C 880 AD which registers the death of Pottalgagi in the rescue of cattle for which he received one Kaṇḍuga of rice land (kaḷani) and five guḷas of waste land. In this case however it is unclear who the donor(s) was *349

Another instance of a grant to a hero made by a corporate group comes from an inscription at Bāgaḷi assignable on palaeographic grounds to the tenth century. This records the death of Pemmaṇṇa, the son of Benniyamma śeṭṭi of Bāṇalli in an attack against Dēsinga. The samaya thereupon made a grant received by his younger brothers Vāli and Maṇi of which the details are lost * 350. A samaya has been explained inter alia as an assemblage,congregation or company. *351

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*346 EC IV (new ed) Yl 14

*347 EC X (old ed) Sd 32

*348 Supra, Chapter II, Section C (II), p 43.

*349 EC X (old ed) Sp 50

*350 EC IV (new ed) Ch 115

*351 F Kittel, op.cit. q.v. Samaya; D C Sircar, I.E.G, q.v.Samaya

Its composition is unknown in this case. It was possibly a mercantile body given that the deceased hero was the son of a śeṭṭi. In any case the record brings out the possibility that corporate groups had their own militias * 352. This possibility is supported by the Dēvarahaḷḷi inscription of the eighth century [Guṇḍlupēṭ taluk, Mysore district] which records the valour of the Seventy of Upagōḷa, Nāmanda and others in the battle of Kosarupuḷti. They received lands at Puṇisūr free of all imposts probably from Durvinīta Eṟeyappōr * 353. Evidently this was a corporate group of land owners who had joined Durvinīta Eṟeyappa, the son of Śrīpuruṣa in his military exertions either personally or by sending their retainers. The land grant's extent is not specified nor is it clear how the lands would be distributed among the members of the group. It is interesting to note moreover that the lands granted were in another settlement thus giving this corporate group from Upagōḷa control over agrarian resources in another village as well.

It was not merely the mercantile and landowning groups which had militias of their own. The Nukkanahaḷḷi vīrgal of the mid ninth century [Kōlār taluk, district] states that Bāṇarasa was at war with the Mahājanas [ the corporate groups of brāhmaṇas] of Nekkundi nāḍ probably since his army was sent to invade that nāḍu. In the war that ensued at Pulikuṟukki, Nāgaguttarasa evidently fighting on behalf of Bāṇarasa slew many and then died. He received the bāḷgaḷcu grant of Bellampaṟavi village * 354 with all exemptions (sarvapādā-parihāra). The issue of the war is not stated unfortunately. But is is interesting that the King should be at conflict with Mahājanas. Usually as we have noted, Kings supported brahmadēyas with lavish grants. Here, the army of the Mahājanas appears to be on par with that of the Bāṇa chieftain. It is also not clear whether the Mahājanas fought themselves or hire mercenaries for their army. In this connection we may recollect the armed groups of brāhmaṇas associated with śālais and ghaṭikas in the Tamil country. *355

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*352 D N Jha," Relevance of 'Peasant State and Society' to Pallava-Cola times" in Indian Historical Review" Vol VIII No.2(1981-82) ; p 91

*353 EC III (new ed) Gu 207 *354 EC X (old ed) Kl 200

*355 M G S Narayanan "Kāṇḍalūr Śālai : New Light on the Nature of Aryan Expansion in South India" PIHC, 32nd Session,(Jabalpur, 1970), pp 125-138 cited by D N Jha, op.cit. p 76.

We do not have similar evidence for such institutions in Karnāṭaka but it is possible that the brahmadēyas had associated groups of militant brāhmaṇas. Mayūraśarman Kadamba started his career as a soldier while a student at the famed ghaṭikā at Kāñci *356. Other brāhmaṇas from Karnāṭaka may have been similarly associated with that ghaṭikā.

Apart from possessing fighting forces of their own and granting land for the support of the dependents of deceased heroes belonging to the local community corporate groups also acted as witnesses to such grants * 357. Thus the fragmentary Hegganūru inscription [Heggaḍedēvanakōṭe taluk, Mysore district] lists the pērvāṇas [same as Pērbārvas * 358 the Kannada version of Mahājanas ?] and vāṇigas from Kundattūru, Mādamangaḷa, Veḷattūr, Mattūr, Pasūr and Komtamangaḷa among the witnesses to a Nettaru-vari [blood grant] * 359. The details of the donor, donee and the grant per se are lost since the record is fragmentary.

Grants to heroes who fell in purely local skirmishes were usually small in scale. A few guḷas of paddy land or a few khaṇḍugas at most. Usually such heroes came from humble backgrounds. But even gāvuṇḍas occasionally received similar small scale grants. A tenth century vīrgal from Kūrgal [Piriyapaṭṭaṇa] taluk Mysore district] records the death of two gāvuṇḍas of Kūrgallu in a cattle raid. They received 3 khaṇḍugas of land as Kalnāḍu from Eṟeyapparasa, the ruler of Kongalnāḍu-8000, and not, interestingly, from Paramabbe who is said to be ruling Kūrgallu at this time* 360. It is unclear whether the grant of 3 khaṇḍugas was made individually to the two heroes or jointly. In contrast, the Mangaḷa inscription [Chāmrājnagar taluk, Mysore district] of AD 965 records the grant of twelve hamlets (paḷḷis) to the gāvuṇḍa of Mangaḷa for defeating Gariya apparently on behalf of Mārasinghadeva (II) * 361. The criterion for the magnitude of the grants apparently is the scale of the conflict, purely local skirmishes apparently merited only small grants

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*356 EC VII (old ed) SK 176

*357 EC III (new ed) Hg 112, of the close of the 9th century

*358 K V Ramesh, op.cit, p 108 ; fn 1

*359 Ibid. p 110 ; fn 1

*360 EC IV (new ed) Pp 28

*361 EC IV (new ed) Ch 138

Death in battle on behalf of the regional overlord entitled heroes to larger grants. Grants were made by local notables, the local corporate groups and occasionally by rulers of the nāḍu. Defence of the village its cattle and women,apparently was a responsibility of every able-bodied man in the village *362. In return the local authorities supported the dependents of the deceased, which was the main purpose of these grants. G.R.Kuppuswamy, however is of the opinion that in most cases these grants were merely token and it is doubtful whether they were sufficient to maintain the surviving family* 363. In view of the fact that we have no information on the cost of living and productivity of land in those times it is very difficult to come to a conclusion about the adequacy of these grants but they do seem to be very limited in size in most cases.

As mentioned earlier, a large number of hero stones are purely commemorative and do not seem to include grants to the deceased hero. Most of these heroes had perished in local skirmishes in defence of their village or in cattle raids. Thus the Kalguṇḍi vīrgal records the death of Pergaḍe Nāyaka in the ūr-aḷivu (destruction of village) and turugōḷ (cattle raid) on Kalguṇḍipura. It is not quite clear whether he was a raider or a defender. But at all events there is no grant recorded herein * 364 Likewise an inscription grom Niḍuvaṇi commemorates the death of Keñca, younger brother (tamma) of Ēca gāvuṇḍa of Bidirhāka in a cattle raid on Niḍuvaṇi, but appears not to include a grant * 365. The Kittūr vīrgal of AD 1008 [Piriyapaṭṭaṇa Taluk, Mysore district] similarly records the death of Cannayya, grandson of Kittūr's Bijaya gāvuṇḍa in a cattle raid. But again we do not have a record of a grant made for the hero. The hero's younger brother is said to have set up the memorial stone after the funeral obsequies [paroksha kriyā] * 366.

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*362 S Settar & M M Kalaburgi, "The Hero Cult: A Study of Kannada Literature from the 9th to the 13th century" in S Settar & G D Sonthermer (ed) Memorial Stones ; p 28

*363 G R Kuppuswamy "Economic Factors Governing the Memorial Stones of Karnataka" in S Settar & G D Sontheimer (ed) Memorial Stones, p 311.

*364 ASMAR 1937 No.21, p146 of the 9th century

*365 EC VIII(new ed) HN 130 of AD 970 [Hassan District]

*366 EC IV (new ed) Pp 144

We do not even have a grant for sustaining the rites of the memorial. A similar instance is provided by the Siddaiyapura vīrgal of the close of the 9th century [Guṇḍlupēṭ taluk, Mysore district] which records the death of Kavaḍoḍeṛa the son of Terareliya in a cattle raid. The stone was set up by the hero's daughter Tātabbe. There was no grant whether for his dependents or for maintenance of the memorial stone and associated rituals *367

A slightly different story is recorded in the Ālattūr vīrgals of the 9th century*368. These record the death of merchants in a cattle raid at Aṭṭi in Cōḷanāḻ where they had gone to trade (paradu pōgi). It is not quite clear whether these merchants were aggressors or defenders. It is possible that these merchants were cattle traders given the vigorous pastoral and cattle breeding tradition of the Southern Karnataka region. In that case, the two heroes commemorated here, Tippaṇṇa and the (unnamed) son of Bappa śeṭṭi, died in defence of their merchandise. If on the other hand they were aggressors as the word tuṟugōl would indicate the inscription would bring out the ambiguous nature of trade in the early medieval period with merchants indulging in cattle raids during the course of their mercantile activities. The heroes of the Ālattūr vīrgals were honoured with memorial stones by members of their family. Tippaṇṇa's brother-in-law and Bappa śeṭṭi's younger son set up the two stones. There is no grant for their maintenance.

A tenth century record from Bāṇḍalli [Koḷḷegāl taluk, Mysore district] records the death of another long distance trader, apparently from Tamil Nadu...ttayyan Keṭṭan alias Tiśai Māṇikka Ceṭṭi in an encounter with a tiger which he killed before dying of wounds sustained in the conflict. The stone was set up by his son Keṭṭan Maṣaṇan *369. To judge from the deceased hero's alias of Tiśai Māṇikka Ceṭṭi he would appear to be an itinerant trader dealing in rubies and precious stones. Trade in exotic and luxury items was handled through itinerant guilds in this period.*370 The alias of this particular trader recalls the famous guild of Nānādēśiya Tiśai Āyirattu Ainuṟṟuvar whose activities can be dated back at least to the ninth century * 371.

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*367 EC III (new ed) Gu 206 *368 EC III (new ed) Gu 36,37

*369 EC V (new ed) Ko 69

*370 R Champakalakshmi "Urbanisation in Medieval Tamil Nadu" in R Thapar & S Bhattacharya (ed) Situating Indian History ; p38

*371 Ibid, p51, also vide Table VI appended thereto.

It is possible than Kettan belonged to this organization and while in transit through Southern Karnataka in the course of trade, possibly, had this encounter with a tiger which is commemorated in the Bāndalli hero stone. Kettan and his son do not appear to have any roots in the locality where this record was found. Kettan Masanan's putting up of the memorial stone in his father's memory was a private act and it is therefore not surprising to find that the record does not include a grant. But in the other cases mentioned above it is not clear why no grant was made. The criteria which determined which local heroes would be honoured with a grant and which would not be so rewarded cannot be discerned. The social background of these heroes are as varied as those whose exploits were crowned with grants of land howsoever small. As we shall see below some hero stones recording services rendered to an overlord also fail to incorporate grants. The same problem of distinguishing criteria for making grants appears there too.

(II) Grants to heroes who perished in Inter-nadu or inter-dynastic conflicts:

In contrast to local heroes who fell in defence of their village or its cattle or in an attack on a neighbouring settlement, heroes,particularly chieftains,who fell in the service of their overlord received large tracts of land, hamlets or villages and occasionally even whole units of villages. Vēlevālis who followed their lord in death were another set of individuals to receive munificent grants in recognition of their devotion. Occasionally dependents and family members of the deceased heroes were honoured with titles and positions of influence such as that of nād-gāvundas. Very often these titles had been held by the deceased hero and was vested with their nearest relative.

Among the early instances of large land grants are the Aralukōte inscriptions of the close of the eighth century. The first record registers the grant of Mādegula to the descendants of Vīramahāmēru who died fighting Kāduvatti's force at the orders of Bāna Vidyādhara Prabhumēru *372. The second registers the grant of Kulanellūr with all exemptions (sarva parihāra) as bālgalcu to Vīyala Vijyādhara, the son of Mānasurarali Kaype the hero (ganda) of Prabhukaype Tulige Vasantan who died fighting the Dāmarigas on the command of his lord (ālva) Prabhumēru *373.

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*372 EC X (old ed) Sp 6 of C 780 AD *373 EC X (old ed) Sp 5 of C 780 AD

The Nukkanahaḷḷi vīrgal of the mid-ninth century which has been cited earlier * 374 constitutes another instance of extensive land grants to heroes of exalted status. This hero-stone registers the grant with all exemptions(sarva-pādā-parihāra)to Nāgaguttarasa who fell fighting the Mahājanas of Nekkundi nāḍ. Likewise the Iggaḷi inscription [Nanjangūḍ taluk, Mysore district] of AD 892-93 records the invasion on Uttarillaga Kōṭe in the course of a battle against Nōḷamma [Nōḷamba?] in which Rāceya Ganga died. The deceased hero was given the villages of Iggaḷi and Dudugeṟe as Kalnāḍ *375. His Ganga descent was probably the reason for the munificent grant. A tenth century hero-stone from Chikka Hanasoge [Krishnarājanagar taluk, Mysore district]records a yet more munificent Kalnāḍ grant to an individual who was probably a Ganga vamśaja. This inscription registers the gift of Kongunāḍ-70. The donors were a certain Govindara and a corporate group, the Thousand (sāsirvaru)* 376. The identity of Gōvindara is unclear nor is the composition of the Thousand specified in this fragmentary record. It is therefore unclear whence they derived their authority to alienate an entire politico-geographical unit. It is possible that Gōvindara was one of the claimants to the Ganga throne who were eliminated by Cāmuṇḍarāya to clear the way for the accession of Rācamalla IV * 377 after the death of Mārasimha II. In that case the Chikka Hanasoge inscription records an episode in the war of succession following the death of Mārasimha II and possibly represents an effort by Gōvindara to win support for himself among members of the Ganga lineage by granting entire units to his partisans.

A series of hero-stones from the Hāssan district register grants of villages to heroes who were either Vēḷevāḷi of various Ganga monarchs or their consorts or had perished in inter-dynastic conflicts. The Marūru inscription of the early tenth century [Arkalgud taluk, Hassan district] records the grant of....nnanūr with abhyantara siddhi to Bābiyamma who entered fire on the death of Nītimārga * 378

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*374 EC X (old ed) Kl 200 of c 850 AD, vide supra p230; fn 354

*375 EC III (new ed) Nj204 *376 EC V (new ed) Kn41

*377 B Sheik Ali; A History of the Western Gangas p 153; B S Kulkarni (ed) Cāvuṇḍarāya Purāṇam P 4, v 21

*378 EC VIII (new ed) Ag 26

Likewise the Muttige inscription [Arkalgūḍ taluk] registers the gift of Muḷtage to Beḍante Rāceya who entered fire on the death of Rācamalla (II?). The grant was received by Dhōra whose relation to Beḍante Rāceya is not specified in the epigraph *379. Yet another instance of a village granted to a vēḷevāḷi is encountered in the Bēḷgali inscription of the mid- tenth century [Arkalgūḍ taluk] *380.

Unlike the Marūru and Muttige inscriptions the Bēḷgali epigraph specifically includes the term vēḷe but the act of following the lord in death is left out therein. The inscription registers the donation of Bēḷgali to Ankada Kāṭayya, the vēḷe of Ganga Mahādēvī Rēvakanimmaḍi, and his successors in perpetuity. The record specifically states that Bēḷgali was not be entered by nāḷgāvuṇḍas and nāḍbōvas for collection of taxes such as kuṛuḍeṟe and aṭṭaḍeṟe. The grant included the right of abhyantara siddhi. In other words it was a tax-free grant which vested in Ankada Kāṭayya and his successors complete control over the resources of Bēḷgali. Royal and local officials were specifically precluded from entry. Thus the royal domain of the Gangas was steadily eroded by the grants of villages as estates to service assignees.

Apart from these vēḷevāḷis other beneficiaries were heroes who perished in interdynastic conflicts of the period.The Arakeṟe vīrgal [Arsīkere taluk, Hassan district]for instance registers the grant of Arakeṟe as Kalnāḍ to Śrī Muttara who died in the battle of Kalikaṭṭi against the Nōḷambas * 381. Śrī Muttara was probably the ruler of Āsandi nāḍ If so,this would bear out the suggestion that grants of villages were made to heroes of high social status. But the status of deceased heroes cannot always be determined from available evidence. This is the case with the Masaganahaḷḷi hero stone of AD 971 [ Channarāyapaṭna taluk, Hāssan district] which records the grant of Neṭṭūr in Kalkaḷi nāḍ as Kalnāḍ to Ērigāri who died in the war with Rājāditya Cāḷukya of Uccangi * 382.

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*379 Ibid, Ag 24

*380 Ibid, Ag 41

*381 EC XVI (revised ed) Ak 215

*382 EC V (old ed) Cn 262

Likewise the Neralige inscription [Arsikere taluk] registers the gift of Nerilage to Annavāsayya's son. Annavāsayya had fallen in the battle against the Nolambas * 383. His social status is as indeterminate as Ērigāri's. On the other hand Bāsagāvuṇḍa, whose death in the course of the battle with Rājāditya for the fort of Uccangi is recorded in the Karagaḍa virgal [Bēlūr taluk, Hāssan district] received only a grant of five khaṇḍugas of land * 384. Apart from social standing it is possible that another criterion for awarding grants was the actual gallantry displayed by the hero.It is noteworthy that the Hāssan area should yield so many hero-stones relating to the inter-dynastic conflicts of the period. Was it a recruiting ground for the Ganga army? In any case this region was to constitute the core of the Hoysaḷa Kingdom in the late eleventh century * 385.

Heroes were also rewarded by the conferring of positions of authority, most often the nāḷgāvuṇḍu of politico-geographic units. Since these grants were posthumous, the actual beneficiaries were members of the heroes' families. The Kaṭṭemanuganahaḷḷi vīrgal of the close of the ninth century [Heggaḍedēvanakōṭe taluk, Mysore district] records the death of Rāma, the son of Permānaḍi gāvuṇḍa of Kuruvendūr in Pērvāyal in a cattle raid by the people of Bayal nāḍ on Kottamangaḷa. Thereupon Permānaḍi [Satyavākya Rācamalla II] and Ereyappa granted the nāḷgāvuṇḍu, probably of Pervāyal to Permānaḍi gāvuṇḍa in addition to the village of Kiṟuvusuvūr as Kalnāḍ * 386. Similarly, the Ganganūru hero stone of AD 907 [Arkalgūḍ taluk, Hāssan district] records the grant of a nāḷgāvuṇḍu to Jinapaḍega who died in a battle. The donors were Permānaḍigaḷ and Ereyapparasa * 387. However, the inscription does not specify the nāḍ nor the actual recipient of the grant since it was made posthumously. The Bandaḷike inscription [Shikāripur taluk, Shimoga district] of AD 919-20 * 388 provides us with an interesting instance of the conferring of a nāḷgāvuṇḍu on the family member of a deceased hero. his epigraph records the death of Sattarara Nāgārjuna who was holding the nāḷgāvuṇḍu of Nāgarakhaṇḍa - 70 in pursuance of the orders of his overlord Kaliviṭṭarasa, the ruler of Banavāsi-12,000.

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*383 EC XV (revised ed) Ak 237 *384 Ibid, Bl 308

*385 J D M Derrett, The Hoysaḷas ( A Medieval Indian Royal Family),O U P,1957, p 7

*386 EC III (new ed) Hg 5 *387 EC VIII (new ed) Ag 105

*388 EC VII (old ed) S k 219

Thereupon the nālgāvuṇḍu was bestowed upon his wife,the gāvuṇḍi Jākiyabbe. After seven years in office, enjoying prabhuśakti, she decided to renounce the world probably owing to bodily illness and accepted the vow [probably of sanyasana]. She appears to have been succeeded by her daughter, a succession which apparently was without validation by her feudal superiors. Unlike the Kaṭṭemamuganahaḷḷi and Gangan̄ūru vīrgals which record fresh grants of nālgāvuṇḍu to families which had apparently not held such a position before, the Bandaḷike inscription concerns a family which already enjoyed power. The novelty lies in the succession of the wife and later the daughter to the office. Was this done in the absence of male heirs? It is not possible for us to come to a definite conclusion in the absence of specific information.

Besides gifts of land, entire villages and nāḍs, as well as of offices,cash gifts are also known, though they are rare, perhaps reflecting the essentially autarkic economy of the period. One such instance of a cash gift comes from the Hecche inscription [Sorab Taluk, Shimoga district] of c 991 AD. This record registers the grant of twenty-four pura-drammas by Śrī Śāntivarma,the Māturavaṁśi subordinate of Kakkaladēva,to Akaṭega, the vēle of queen Gundadabbe. Akaṭega had vowed to sacrifice his head if the queen were to become pregnant and the king were to have an heir. Accordingly he gave up his head to the warriors (bhaṭar). The grant was entrusted to the Mahājanas of Eḷase * 389. The dependents of Vēle Akaṭega possibly enjoyed the interest on the sum though the record does not specifically state so. Alternatively, the Mahājanas ensured the performance of rites at the funerary shine.An earlier instance of a cash gift comes from the Mūḍigere inscription [Tarīkere taluk, Chikmagaḷūr district] of the close of the eighth century * 390. However it is not clear whether this grant was made as a reward for the valour of the donee. This record of the reign of Mahāsāmantādhipati Prabhūtavarṣa Śrī Gōyindarasar [Rāṣṭrakūṭa Gōvinda III] records the conferment of the honour Prabhutunga Maryāde * 391 on Prabhutunga Māḷa. A cash gift of six gadyāṇas from the queen (Rāṇide) and twelve gadyāṇas from Daṇḍamattapa was made in addition to a sarvaparihāra grant of land, the details of which are not given.

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*389 EC VIII (old ed) Sb 479 *390 ASMAR 1942, Inscription no 47, p 175-76

*391 F Kittel, A Kannaḍa-English Dictionary, q.v.Maryāde, to show respect,civility.

It is possible that the conferment of the honour, with the title of Prabhutunga implied some kind of feudal tie between Gōvinda III and Prabhutunga Māḷa. The practice of bearing the overlord's title was a widespread one in the early medieval period and was to be particularly marked under the Cōḷas * 376.

As mentioned earlier not all heroes were fortunate enough to receive munificent grants. The criteria which determined the bestowal of grants cannot be discerned from available evidence. Thus for instance, the Tātakallu vīrgal [Mūḷbāgāl taluk, Kōlār district] of the mid-ninth century records the death of a Pallava who killed Ningarāya in an obscure battle. No grant was made apparently by the reigning Bāṇa King.*393 Likewise, the Bhairāpura hero stone [Channarāyapaṭna taluk, Hāssan district] of the eighth century records the death of Māḷvapaṭṭoḍeya , the servant (āḷu) of Nirggunda-arasa in a battle against Kuḍi Muddan at the boundary (mēre) No grant was made in appreciation of his valour * 394. Similarly the Kūgalūru inscription [Nanjanagūḍu taluk, Mysore district] of the tenth century praises the valour of Kēśavayya who secured the bracelet of Indamarasa and handed it over to the king before dying himself. His services do not appear to have been rewarded * 395. The most surprising instance of the failure to reward a hero comes from the tenth century Jinnahaḷḷi record which chronicles the death of Māciga the son of Eṟeyangappa of Ganga vaṁśa who fought at the order of Guttiya Ganga in the battle against Nōḷambādhirāja * 396. The reigning king as Mārasimha II in all probability * 397. Why this scion of the Ganga race was not awarded a grant remains a mystery, particularly when we recollect grants of lands and villages made to heroes of unknown pedigree who fought in the battles waged by Mārasimha II * 398. The grant of Kongunāḍu-70 to an unnamed Gangavaṁśaja by Gōvindara may also be recollected in this context * 399.

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*392 Y Subbarayalu " The Cola State" in Studies in History, Vol IV, No.2 (1982), p 279-280

*393 EC X (old ed), Mb 26

*394 EC V (old ed) Cn 208

*395 EC III (new ed) Nj 371

*396 Ibid, Hg 26

*397 Vide supra,p 170 , fn 34 - 36

*398 Vide supra,p236-7, fn 382-384

*399 Vide supra,p235 ,fn 377.

In some other cases the inscription being fragmentary it becomes difficult to determine whether Kalnāḍ grants were made or whether the epigraph is merely commemorative in nature. Such is the case with the Husukūru inscription of AD 870-71 [Nanjanagūḍu taluk, Mysore district] which records the invasion by Būtarasa I, on some fort by the order of Permāḍi [Satyavākya Rācamalla II]. The epigraph praises the valour of Candiyaṇṇa * 400, but since it is incomplete we cannot determine whether a grant was made or not. Similarly the eighth century of Karmmāga Rāca Irmaḍi Bīra and Maṇalēra of Kuṇungil *401. Once again, the epigraph being incomplete we cannot determine whether a grant was made or not.

To conclude, while heroes who perhished in minor inter village skirmishes received token grants of land, those who participated in the endemic interdynastic conflicts of the period usually received more generous grants of villages or even entire units. Thus Iruga, the son of Nāgattara was given the division of Bēmpūr-12 in addition to the bestowal of the Nāgattara vaṭṭa as a reward for his father's valour in the battle against Bīra Mahēndra at the end of the ninth century.*402 But we also have examples of high born heroes whose prowess went unrewarded. But it is possible that grants for heroes' dependents were made separately in some cases and were recorded in inscriptions which have not survived. This might explain instsnces The reasons and criteria which determined the magnitude of the grants cannot be discerned. The dependents of such heroes then constituted another section of the variegated ranks of the secular intermediaries between the ruler and the tiller, another group of claimants to a share in the produce of the land. That they enjoyed powers analogous to the brāhmaṇa donees of brahmadēya grants is made clear by the inclusion of the terms sarvabādhā parihāra and abhyantara siddhi. In one case, the inscription specifies that royal and local officials were not to enter the village to collect taxes *403. Thus the donees could appropriate the major share of the produce.While some of the donees were of high birth, many others were new entrants to the class of feudatories. In the case of the former, Kālnāḍ grants confirmed their earlier titles and possessions with an occasional augmentation of power and property. In the case of the latter, the titles were freshly bestowed.

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*400 EC III (new ed) Nj 385

*401 EC VII (new ed) Mu 36

*402 Supra, Section B-V, p.190 , fn 166.

*403 Vide supra, p.236 ; fn 380

They were mostly vēlevālis or ordinary soldiers who laid down their lives in service of their lord and were rewarded for their meritorious service. In local skirmishes, the local corporate groups, such as the Mahājanas, the Samaya or the ūr who often possessed militias of their own, undertook to reward heroes who perished in defence of the interests of the local community.

## F) BRĀHMAṆAS AND SECTARIAN PRECEPTORS

(I) BRĀHMAṆAS : As we have seen earlier, the majority of the first phase inscriptions were copper plates registering brahmadēya grants. Such grants of villages and lands to śrōtriya brāhmaṇas continued to be made in the second phase also, but their proportion in relation to the total declined markedly. The majority of the second phase records, whether copper plate or lithic epigraphs register grants to temples or purely secular grants to heroes or secular transactions such as the grant of the bittuvaṭṭa* 404 of a tank or remission of taxes. Most of the surviving brahmadēya grants of the second phase belong to the reign of Śrīpuruṣa (AD 725 - 788) and may be taken as representing the continuation of earlier trends. Śrīpuruṣa in fact emerges as a staunch supporter of Brahmanical Hinduism. His Agaḷi Grant charter states that his palace echoed to the sounds of the religious ceremonies accompanying the mahādānas made by him everyday *405. No other Ganga monarch after him claims to have performed these rites.

Among the srotriya brāhmaṇas who benefitted from Śrīpuruṣa's bounty were Bāṇaśarma of Vatsa gōtra and Taittrīya caraṇa who received Bāradūr grāma in Tegaṭṭūr viṣaya in Śrīpuruṣa's first regnal year; *406 Īśvaraśarma of Hāritāyana gōtra and Chāndōga Kalpa, resident of Tuṟugalūr, who received house sites, garden lands, fields and forest lands in the third regnal year;*407 Nandīśvara śarman and his adoptive sons Mādhava and Mārasarman of the Kāśyapa gōtra who were granted Agaḷi village on the southern bank of Toḷḷe river at Eḍediṇḍe in Marugaṟe viṣaya in the twenty second regnal year;*408 120 brāhmaṇas (unnamed) who were well-versed in the four branches of learning, who were given Bēlpūr village on the eastern bank of the Peṇṇe river in Maṇale-āḷke-300 of Sinda viṣaya in Śrīpuruṣa's twenty-fifth regnal year,*409 Mādhava śarma of Kāśyapa gōtra

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*404 Bittu vaṭṭa was a portion of the produce derived from lands irrigated by tanks or the land itself which was granted to the person who built the tank or repaired it. Supra, Chap II.,Section C (v)

*405 Chapter III, Section C, fn 267 *406 EC V (new ed) Kn 48 of AD 725-26

*407 K.V.Ramesh,op.cit.,No.41, the Nandi plates.

*408 Ibid,No.42, the Agali grant charter of AD 748.

well-versed in the Vājasaneya vēda and resident of Tōḷūr who received lands,gardens, forest land and house-sites in the four villages of Eḷangūḍalūr,Maṟiyācigūḍalūr, Paṟuvi and Śrīpuram in the thirty-seventh regnal year;*410 and Nīlakaṇṭha śarma of Hārita gōtra who was given Kōmāramangaḷa village in the Pudukanda viṣaya at the request of Duggamāra Eṟeyappa and his queen Kañciyabbā for the spiritual benefit of Kañciyabbā's deceased brother Indrarāja.*411. Duggamāra and Kañciyabbā were probably also associated with a grant of wet lands and a garden to Vellaśarma of Maduregīl recorded in the Mēḷāgani lithic inscription of AD 767-68.*412.The donor in this record is not clearly specified but since Duggamāra the ruler of Kovaḷāla nāḍu-300 and Ganga-6000 and his Mahādēvī, Kāñciyabbē, the ruler of Agaḷi are mentioned just before the grant they may have been the donors or at least the sanctioning authority for the gift which appears to have been of a purely local character. The Huḷḷēnahaḷḷi copper plates of Śrīpuruṣa also record a brahmadēya grant at the request of Diṇḍigarar of Bāṇa lineage, who was ruling Oḷnūlu in Kaṟbappu nāḍu.The beneficiaries were Janārdana of Gārgya gōtra,Kēśava bhaṭṭa of Kauśika gōtra and Nāgaśarma of Kāśyapa gōtra, each of whom received a portion of Kovalaveṭṭu village. This epigraph is undated.*413

Most of the above grants were made in copper plate charters, and with the exception of the Salem and the Huḷḷēnahaḷḷi copper plates were made by the king on his own initiative. This would support the suggestion made above that the king was a staunch supporter of Vedic Brahmanism. In addition dēvadāna grants and secular gifts were also made in his reign. But in most cases such dēvadāna grants were made by the king at the request of a subordinate as in the case of the Dēvarahaḷḷi plates (Nāgamangaḷa taluk,Mandya district)

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*409 EC VI (old ed) Mg 36 of AD 750-51.

*410 EC X (old ed) Gd 47 of AD 762-63,

*411 K.V.Ramesh, op.cit.,No.47 the Salem plates of AD 771.

*412 EC X (old ed) Mb 80.

*413 EC VII (new ed) Md14.

which record grants to a Jaina temple called Lōkatilaka at Śrīpuram at the request (vijñapti) of Pṛthivi Nirgundarāja *414.

Alternatively such grants may be made directly by the subordinate after a nominal reference to his overlord. Such was the case with the Narasimharājapura plates of Śrīpuruṣa which records the grant of Maḷavalli village by Nāgavarma Gangarāja of the Pāsiṇḍi Ganga family and his brother-in-law (śyālah) Tuḷuga-aḍi of the Kadamba family to the caitya at Toḷḷa village. A subsidiary grant of a field, Dharma Kṣētra by Maṇali Mane-oḍeya is also registered in the same inscription.*415 Apart from these copper plate charters we have numerous lithic records from Sripurusa's reign registering dēvadāna *416 or secular grants *417. Most of these lithic records were made by local notables or rulers and the king was not usually connected with these gifts.

Two brahmadēya grants of Yuvarāja Mārasimha have come down to us. The first is the Koṭṭimba grant charter of his third year which records the grant of Koṭṭimba village in Mānya viṣaya and Ālūr with its hamlet Vāydeüt in Kuṟuvāle viṣaya to Śrīdhara of Bhāradvāja gōtra,a performer of sacrifices*418 These grants were apparently made by the Yuvarāja himself. The Gañjam copper plates on the other hand record the grant of Tipperūr as brahmadēya to Ponnaḍi of Kauśika gōtra, the oḍeya of Ārppoḷa by Kolliyarasa Kali Nōḷambādhirāja of Pallavānvaya and his son, Nijarāma Nayadhīra with Mārasimha's permision.*419

The Peṟjarangi grant charter of Rācamalla I of his first regnal year grants the village Peṟjarangi in Eḍediṇḍe- 70 in Marugaṟe viṣaya to

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*414 EC VII (new ed) Ng 149 of AD 776-77.

*415 K.V.Ramesh,op.cit.,No.71, undated of the eighth century.

*416 EC IV (new ed) Ch 147, EC III (new ed) Hg 156,Gu 43,67, etc.

*417 EC V (new ed)TN 46,EC III (new ed) Nj 182; EC VII (new ed)Ml 122,etc.

*418 K.V.Ramesh, op.cit.,No.50 of AD 799.

*419 EC VI (new ed) Sr 66.

Nāgadēva bhaṭṭa of Bhāradvāja kula. The grant was made for the spiritual benefit of his parents and for his fame.*420 Another grant of Rācamalla's reign of which a brāhmaṇa was a beneficiary was the Maṇṇe copper plates of AD 828. This charter registers the donation of Doḍḍavāḍi village in Mānya viṣaya for the bali, dhūpa and dīpa of the temple of the goddess Kiḷtabāḷeṛetibhaṭāri established at Doḍḍavāḍi by a Ganga prince Mahēndra. The grant was made at Mahēndra's behest and was entrusted to Dēvaśarma of Kāśyapa gōtra, a Vaikhānasa who is said to be honoured in royal courts and favoured by the goddess.*421 Thus a dēvadāna grant was in this case held by a brāhmaṇa trustee. In the Keregōḍi Rangāpura plates of Rācamalla II, however, the village Keḍasūr in Nirgunda viṣaya was given for the repairs and renovation of the Īśvara temple at Ālūr and entrusted to Nētraśivācārya, "a sun in the firmament of pure Śaivism".*422 The caste affiliation of this ācārya is not clearly stated. But since the title of ācārya is applied, he was a brāhmaṇa since such titles were used only by them.

An interesting variation on this theme of caste affiliation of sectarian preceptors is provided by the Kūḍlūr plates of Mārasimha II of AD 962-63. This inscription records the grant of Bāgiyūr village in Baḍagare nāḍu of Punnāṭu-6000 in Gangapāṭi to Vādighangala Bhaṭṭa of Parāśara gōtra and Caḷukivaḍica caraṇa *423. The donee however was a Jaina preceptor and is described as "an ardent worshipper of Jinēśvara" and an advisor to Kṛṣṇa III. He is said to have won the esteem of all Kṛṣṇa's manḍalikas and sāmantas. His ancestors had migrated to the south from Pippala agrahāra of the Vārāṭadēśa in the North.*424 Vādighanghala bhaṭṭa is in many ways similar to Pampa in that he is proud both of his brāhmaṇa ancestry and his Jaina faith. Pampa's ancestors were Vaidika brāhamaṇas

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*420 K.V.Ramesh, op.cit.,No.90

*421 S.Settar, ASMAR 1910-A study, Vol.III, Dharwad (1976),No.4,pp.32-34.

*422 K.V.Ramesh, op.cit.,No.113.

*423 Ibid, No.138

*424 Ibid, No.138, v.39.

His forefather, Mādhava Sōmayāji had performed numerous sacrifices, notably the sarvakratu.*425 Pampa's father Abhimānadēvarāya is said to have rendered his high birth in the vipra kula higher still by adopting the Jaina faith with its emphasis on compassion to all creatures.*426 Pampa too received an agrahāra named Dharmapura in Bacce-nāḍ - 1000 in return for having established his patron, Arikēsari's fame by composing the Vikramārjunavijayam.*427 Although both Vādighanghala bhaṭṭa and Pampa were devout Jainas they certainly took pride in their brāhmaṇa descent as well. This shows that the caste system pervaded Jainism.

Vādighanghala bhaṭṭa was not merely a preceptor but an advisor to Emperor Kṛṣṇa III Rāṣṭrakūṭa and possibly Mārasimha II Ganga as well. His father was apparently a warrior since he is described as having been "a delighter of the lord of the Vārāṭa country with his fierce valour".*428 The tradition of brāhmaṇa participation in administration and war was an ancient one as we have seen earlier. Such participation was to eventually lead to the adoption of brahmakṣatrīya status by such brāhmaṇa families.

Among the prominent brāhmaṇas employed by the Gangas in the second phase we may mention Sivarya of Kauśika gōtra. He is described in the Gaṭṭavāḍi plates as the skilful pilot*429 in steering the ship, the Ganga kingdom. The fragmentary Kerehaḷḷi plates of Nītimārga Eṛeyappa II too refer to one Śivārya, probably identifiable with the donee of the Gaṭṭavāḍi plates, who appears to have maintained one thousand elephants in Konga nāḍu viṣaya for his lord Nītimārga Eṛeyappa II.*430 The Gaṭṭavāḍi plates state that Śivārya's forbears had migrated from Ahicchatra in the north to Tānagundūr agrahāra in Vanavāsa viṣaya (Banavāsi - 12000).*431 Like many other members of the ruling class, Śivārya constructed a tank by gathering the waters of three small rivulets.

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*425 Pampa Bhārata XIV. 42-43. *426 Ibid XIV. 48 *427 Ibid XIV. 55-56.

*428 K.V.Ramesh, op.cit.,No.138, v.39 *429 EC III (new ed) Nj 402 of AD 904.

*430 EC IV (new ed) Ch 357 of AD 904. *431 EC III (new ed) Nj.402 ll.62-64

A new village named Śivayyamaṅgaḷa after him was established around this tank and was granted by the king to Śivārya himself.*432 Śivārya's brāhmaṇa identity is stressed by referring to his gōtra affiliation and by tracing his descent from immigrant northern brāhmaṇas. Such immigrant groups were generally ascribed higher status and were courted by chieftains and rulers in order to create a class of loyal intermediaries.*433 Inspite of his political and possibly military services to his overlord, Śivārya does not appear to have adopted any kṣatrīya attributes.

On the other hand, Cāvuṇḍarāya, the loyal vassal of Mārasimha II and Rācamalla IV asserted that he belonged to the sacred brahmakṣatra vaṁśa*434 His eulogy inscribed on the Tyāgada Brahmadēva pillar at Śravaṇabēḷgōḷa praises him as "a sun in the shape of a jewel adorning the crest of the Eastern mountain, the brahmakṣatra race, a moon in the shape of the splendour of his fame causing to swell the ocean, the brahmakṣatra race;a central gem to the pearl necklace of Lakṣmī procured from the Rōhaṇa mountain, the brahmakṣatra race; a strong wind to the fire; the brahmakṣatra race".*435 Apart from the assertion that Cāvuṇḍarāya belonged to the brahmakṣatra race neither source specifies his ancestry. However, a fragmentary inscription from Ālgōḍu (T.Narsipur taluk, Mysore district) of the tenth century *436 gives us the genealogy of one Cāvuṇḍa who was the grandson of a vipra named Gōvindamayya, who is praised for his knowledge of dharma (dharmajña) and the son of Mābaḷayya, a subordinate of Nōḷambakulāntakadēva (Mārasimha II). Mābaḷayya and his brother Īśarayya are lauded for their prowess. Would this indicate the appropriation of kṣatrīya attributes by this brāhmaṇa family?

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*432 Ibid, ll.76-80

*433 S.Jaiswal, "Studies in Early Indian social History:Trends and possibilities", in IHR vol.VI, Nos.1-2 (1979-80), pp 26-27.

*434 Cāvuṇḍarāya Purāṇam, Dharwad, 1975, p.4.

*435 EC II (new ed) SB 388.

*436 EC V (new ed) TN 312.

An inscription from Āraṇi (Nāgamangaḷa taluk, Maṇḍya district) mentions one Mābaḷayya as the Mahāmātya of Nolambakulāntakadēva Permānaḍi (Mārasimha II)*437. B.R.Gopal et.al. are inclined to identify this Mābaḷayya with the father of Cāvuṇḍa referred to in the Ālgōḍu epigraph who in turn was probably the same as Cāvuṇḍarāya, the author of the Mahāpurāṇa *438. However, neither the Ālgōḍu nor the Āraṇi inscription refers to the brahmakṣatra status of the protagonists which figures so prominently in the Śravaṇabēḷgōḷa praśasti. But the Ālgōḍu record clearly brings out the brāhmaṇa status of the founder of this family. It is possible that their political position under Mārasimha II led to the gradual adoption of Kṣatrīya traits and which in turn might have induced Cāvuṇḍarāya to settle for brahmakṣatrīya status.

Several records from the Sorab taluk of Shimoga district mention scions of the brahmakṣatrīya Māṭūra vaṁśa.*439 They are described as Trikundapuravarēśvara, as possessing the Nandanavana chatra (parasol), and the haya lāñchana and darpaṇa dhvaja (banner).*440. Thus this lineage had adopted all the royal insignia while there is a conspicuous absence of reference to brāhmaṇa ancestry or gōtra affiliation. R.N.Nandi has suggested that the Māṭūra vaṁśis were possibly a group of tribal sorcerers who had settled down as a village community.*441. Such shamanistic origins might have inclined them to opt for brahmakṣatrīya status when they rose to power.*442.

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*437 EC VII (new ed) Ng 99, ll 19-22

*438 Ibid, Introduction, p x c - xci.

*439 EC VIII (old ed),Sb 70,476,474,477,479,60,61,62,63.

*440 Ibid, Sb 70 of AD 938, ll 3-6.

*441 R.N.Nandi, "Clan name and social mobility in the Deccan" in PIHC (1972-33rd session),Muzaffarpur, p 113 ff.

*442 S.Jaiswal, op.cit.,p 29.

Another family of brāhmaṇa feudatories is mentioned in the Ajita Purāṇa tilakam of Ranna. The progenitor of this family was Nāgamayya of Punganūr in Kemmedēśa of Vengi maṇḍala *443 who belonged to the Kauṇḍinya kula. His two sons Mallapa and Ponnamayya are described as Kauṇḍinya-kula-pradīpa*444 and Mallapa in particular is praised as being well-versed in both śastra and śāstra.*445 Mallapa's courage is also fulsomely praised. He is described as being the cause of his lord Āhavamalla (Tailapa II) Cāḷukya's rising prosperity.*446 Interestingly, his daughters Attimabbe and Guṇḍamabbe were married to Nāgadeva, son of Dallapa the excellent counsellor (sacivōttama) of Emperor Āhavamalla, holding the rank of Mahāmantri. He is said to belong to the Uttamajāti but his gōtra is not specified.*447 Nāgadēva is praised for his valour only unlike his father-in-law. By the dint of his prowess and his faithful service in the battles of Kūmara and Karahaṭa, he gained successively the titles and rank of camūpati and sēnādhipati.*448. If Nagadeva was not in fact a brāhmaṇa, this would represent an interesting case of a pratilōma marriage. It would also mean that Nāgadeva's political and social position - he was the son of an important feudatory of the emperor - was considered sufficient by Mallapa.

The inscriptions cited above clearly reveal that brāhmaṇas had come to possess large landed estates which made them a significant section of the aristocracy. Many of them, such as Śivārya, Mābaḷayya, Cāvuṇḍarāya and Mallapa played an active role in the administration and politics of the day.

Apart from these high ranking brāhmaṇa feudatories we have several references to brāhmaṇas who held the position of ūr-oḍeya.

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*443 B.S.Sannayya and Ramegowda,(ed),Ranna's Ajita Tīrthakara Purāṇam, Mysore (1988), I.24.

*444 Ibid I.28. *445 Ibid,I.31. *446 Ibid,I.37 Vacana.

*447 Ibid,I.38 Vacana.

*448 Ibid,I.42,45.

In the context of Tamil Nadu, Subbarayalu associates the title of ūr-oḍeya with non-brāhmaṇa landholders belonging to the particular village mentioned in the prefix component.*449. In other words such a person was the possessor of either the entire village or a portion of land therein. The evidence from southern Karnāṭaka indicates that ūr-oḍeyas were often brāhmaṇas. The eighth century Saragūru copper plates for instance refer to the oḍeya of Keśugoḷa who received Dhannagavāḍi as a brahmadēya grant from Śrīpuruṣa.*450. The very fact that the grant was termed as brahmadēya implies that the donee was a brāhmaṇa. Similarly, the Gañjam copper plates of Yuvarāja Mārasimha Eṟeyappa record the grant of Tipperūr as brahmadēya to Ponnaḍi, the oḍeya of Ārppoḷa who belonged to the Kauśika gōtra.*451 The brāhmaṇa identity of this oḍeya could not have been clearer. The Meḍutambihaḷḷi inscription of Śivamāra II (Kōlār taluk,district), records the grant of some land as brahmadēya, by Śivamāramma, the oḍeya of Puttūr to Duṇḍugēr, the Nāllattūr oḍeya.*452 While Śivamāramma's caste affiliation is indeterminable, the Nāllattūr oḍeya was apparently a brāhmaṇa. The Tāgarti agrahāra inscription of AD 1027 (Shikāripur taluk, Shimoga district), mentions Tāgaracce's ūr-oḍeya Arasimayya, whose son, Pērbārva Mādhavayya constructed a temple and received a dēvadāna grant.*453 Pērbārva has been explained by K.V.Ramesh as the Kannaḍa equivalent of Mahājana or Mahābrāhmaṇa (pēr=big, pārva=brāhmaṇa)*454. Thus Arasimayya too was a brāhmaṇa .

But the caste identity of ūr-oḍeyas cannot always be discerned. In the case of the Śivārapaṭṭaṇa inscription (Kōlār taluk,district) of the eighth century, which records that there was no debt outstanding between the oḍeya of Kūḍalūr-pāḍi and

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*449 Y.Subbarayalu, "The Cola state", in Studies in History, Vol.IV, No.2: (1982),p.279.

*450 EC III (new ed) Hg 90.

*451 EC VI (new ed) Sr 66.

*452 EC X (old ed) Kl 231

*453 EC VII (old ed) SK 53

*454 K.V.Ramesh, op.cit.,p 108

Eramaga,*455, the caste affiliation of both protagonists cannot be determined. Likewise the Dēvalāpura inscription *456 (Mysore taluk, district) of Śrīpuruṣa mentions Goṭṭemāḍi oḍeya as the donor of Nokki-ur, a vṛtti of Kūḍalūr and of a retainer's field (pērāḷvina kēy)*457 to Araṭṭiga taḷāra (perfect of the city police)*458. Here Goṭṭemāḍi oḍeya is clearly a landholder of considerable importance but it is not possible to detect his caste identity.

(II) RELIGIOUS PRECEPTORS AND TEMPLE TRUSTEES:

Another category of the religieux who received grants of land were the sectarian preceptors and representatives of monastic orders who were entrusted with the dēvadāna grants. As the Maṇṇe plates of Rācamalla I show *459 such trustees could be brāhmaṇas. But the caste affiliation of sectarian leaders is generally not specified. Their asceticism is stressed instead.*460 This is not to say that they were non-brāhmaṇas. We do not have any reference to sectarian preceptors of non-brāhmaṇa extraction. But the caste affiliation of these individuals was not as important for their identity as membership of the sect. Some of these monks and sectarian preceptors exercised lordship over villages and religious centres (sthāna). Such leaders are seen performing administrative functions analogous to those more usually undertaken by lay chieftains and kings. Thus, the Rāmapura inscription (Shrīrangapaṭṭaṇa taluk, Mandya district)of the thirtyfourth regnal year of Satyavākya (Rācamalla II)? Permānaḍi (AD 904-5 ?) refers to one Matisāgara paṇḍita bhaṭāra who is described as the "abode of all learning and wealth (Vidyā-Lakṣmī-pradhāna-nivāsa),possessing the multitude of prostrating feudatories, (prabhava-praṇita-sakala-sāmanta-samūha)

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*455 EC X (old ed) Kl 7.

*456 EC V (new ed) My 192.

*457 F.Kittel, A Kannaḍa-English Dictionary, q.v.Kēy,āḷ.

*458 D.C.Sircar, I.E.G. q.v.taḷāra. This is borne out by the early tenth century work, the Vaḍḍārādhane (ed) D.L.Narasimhachar; the story of Sukumāra svāmi, p.57-58; the story of Vidyuccōra, p.167.

*459 Supra, fn 421.

*460 Infra, Chap.VI Section-C-III.

and lord of Bēḷgōḷa which is attached to the Kaḷbappu hill (Kaḷbappu giri - sanātha Bēḷgōḷādhipati).*461 At his instance, in the presence of Annayya Dēvakōmāra and Dōra, a grant was made to Kēśiga for the construction of a tank at Taḷanēri. *462. Thus Matisāgara paṇḍita bhaṭāra was the lord of Śravaṇabēḷgōḷa and evidently enjoyed the revenues of the villages donated for its upkeep. He could evidently dispose of the revenues, at least, at will. He is even depicted as a conventional overlord receiving the obeisances of feudatories. The Kyātanahaḷḷi inscription (Pāṇḍavapura taluk, Maṇḍya district) also mentions a Kaḷbappu-tīrthasanātha and Bēlagōḷanivāsi.*463 The name of this lord of Kaḷbappu is lost since the record is broken. However, he is said to belong to the Śravaṇa sangha and is probably identical with Kōmārasēna bhaṭṭāraka who received the grant of a sollage of white rice, ghee and free labour (biṭṭi) given to the Kalla basadi built by Cāgi Permānaḍi.*464. This grant was made jointly by Rācamalla II and his nephew Eṛeyapparasa and is probably only a little later than the Rāmpura record cited above.

The Malliśeṭṭipura vīrgal (Sidlaghaṭṭa taluk,Kōlār district) refers to Brahmaśiva bhaṭārar who was ruling Pasugūr while Śrī Nōḷamba was ruling the kingdom (arasu geyyu)*465. Another preceptor Brahmaśivācārya made a grant of one kuḷa of rice land (okkula kaḷani) to a hero, Bidiyēta who repulsed an invasion or Perbaṭṭa.*466 Another inscription from Hebbaṭa (Śrīnivāspūr taluk, Kōlār district) mentions the Ācārya's sthāna. Clearly, Hebbaṭa was the centre of a line of Śaivite preceptors. Someone from the ācārya's establishment seems to have died in a skirmish and a grant was made for him.*467

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*461 EC VI (new ed) Sr 85.

*462 Ibid, ll 8-12. For details of the grant, supra, Chapter II, Section C (V)

*463 EC VI (new ed) Ppu 16,ll 5-6.

*464 Ibid, ll 11-14.

*465 EC X (old ed),Sd 59 of c AD 800.

*466 Ibid, Sp 27,the Hebbaṭa inscription of c 870 AD.

*467 EC X (old ed) Sp 28; 112, is particularly noteworthy. But the inscription is fragmentary.

The most interesting set of inscriptions in this regard come from the Āvani hobli (Mūlbāgāl taluk, Kōlār district). These refer to the rule of Tribhuvana kartāra bhaṭāra over the sthāna of Āvani in the mid-tenth century. A rock inscription from Āvani itself states that Tribhuvana kartāra bhaṭāra obtained Rudralōka after having ruled for forty years over the sthāna of Āvani, constructed fifty temples (ayvattu dēgulam māḍi) and several large tanks (piriyaveradu keṛeyam kaṭṭi).*468 Inscriptions from Balla and Śringēri Sadumanahaḷḷi in the Āvani hobli refer to this priest's rule over the sthāna which apparently meant Āvani.*469. As the editor of the Archaeological Survey of Mysore - Annual Report of 1927 says it is evident that Tribhuvana kartāra paṇḍita was a powerful priest entrusted with the management of temples in the district of Āvanya, or in Āvani itself.*470. But the third vīrgal at Śringēri Sadumanahaḷḷi clearly indicates that Tribhuvana kartāra paṇḍita's jurisdiction extended beyond the mere management of temples. This epigraph registers the death of a hero in an ūr-aḷivu (destruction of a village) and the grant of five koḷas of wet land by Dēva.*471 Dēva clearly refers to this priest since the vīrgal mentions the rule of Paṭṭaṇa dēvar over Āvanya. According to the editor, Paṭṭaṇadēvar was a mistake for paṇḍitadēvar, the title of Tribhuvana kartāra paṇḍita.*472 Similarly,a vīrgal fromBalla village records a grant in appreciation of the valour of Dammeya the son of Basalvēra in defence of cattle by the bhaṭāra who clearly is Tribhuvana kartāra paṇḍita, who is said to be ruling the sthāna in this inscription.*473. Obviously, then, this Śaiva preceptor ruled over Āvani and its neighbouring villages,performing functions that a lay administrator would in similar circumstances. Surprisingly, however,two records from the Śatrughna temple at Āvani, datable on palaeographic grounds to the mid-tenth century do not mention him but merely record the grant or remission of certain taxes to the (temple of) Mahādēva by Dilīpayya Nōḷamba.*474

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*468 EC X (old ed) Mb 65.

*469 EC X (old ed) Mb 93,94,ASMAR 1927, Nos.96,99,100,101.

*470 ASMAR 1927, p 90.

*471 Ibid, No.101,p 92.

*472 Ibid.

*473 EC X (old ed) Mb 93.

*474 EC X (old ed) Mb 51,52

An inscription from Mōgēnahaḷḷi (Channapaṭna taluk, Bangalore district) datable to the close of the ninth century or the beginning of the tenth, mentions Mūvaḍi Cilluka dēvar, the ruler (āḷva) of the temples of Śivamārēśvara, Nītimārgēśvara and Jagdhara Nagharēśvara.The record registers the grant of the bittuvaṭṭa of the big and small tanks within the limits of these temples by the āḷva.*475. The precise location of these temples is unclear although the inscription states that they were situated within a fort. Mūvaḍi Cilluka dēva was apparently a Śaiva religious preceptor and like Matisāgara paṇḍita bhaṭāra and Tribhuvana kartāra bhaṭāra is seen performing purely secular administrative functions. His influence does not seem to extend beyond the limits of the temples.

Thus the virtual monopoly held by the brāhmaṇas over the eleemosynary grants in the first phase was eroded in the second phase. Although vaidika brāhmaṇas continued to be recipients of land grants in the second phase (and the instances cited above are far from exhaustive), monastic orders and sectarian preceptors vied with them for royal and chiefly patronage. Such preceptors were brāhmaṇas but they derived their influence from their leadership of the monastic order and sect rather than from being brāhmaṇas. They emerged as a significant section of the landed magnates and exercised considerable political and administrative power. In fact the influence wielded by these sectarian leaders appears to be far greater than that of the brāhmaṇa beneficiaries and feudatories. While Mābaḷayya could only claim that he was charged with the full responsibility of the kingdom as the Mahāmātya, ("samasta-rājya-bhāra -nirūpita-mahāmātya-pada-sampannam")*476 Matisāgara paṇḍita could claim that he was sovereign over a host of feudatories,*477 while Tribhuvana kartāra paṇḍita is said to be ruling the kingdom of tapas analogous in position to the king Dilīpayya Nōḷamba who was ruling the kingdom of earth.*478 This trend was clearly connected with the rise in the popularity of the cults of Viṣṇu, Śiva and the Jaina Tīrthankaras. Rulers attempted to harness both the older brahmanical religion and its

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*475 EC IX (old ed) Cp 48.

*476 EC VII (new ed) Ng 99.

*477 Supra, fn.461

*478 ASMAR 1927, No.96, p 90,ll 1-2.

representatives as well as the new bhakti cults and its leaders for the validation of their power.*479 Since such leaders received generous grants of land for the support of temples of which they were the trustees and managers they gained great political power and became landed aristocrats.

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*479 B.D.Chattopadhyaya, "Political processes and Structure of Polity in Early Medieval India : problems of perspective", in PIHC, Burdwan session (1983),p 34.

## G) THE WOMEN ELITE

In the first phase we have few references to women. These generally occur in terms of their relation to the reigning King and their names are not mentioned. * 480 This changes in the second phase, we find women referred to as rulers of specific units or settlements. As we have seen the Gangas and the Nōlambas distributed the lineage territory not only amongst the sons but the queens as well.*481 Apart from this, an inscription from Kuntūru [Kollegal taluk, Mysore district] of the tenth century mentions Parabbayarasi of Kundattūru as the ruler of that place. Evidently she was of local extraction * 482

The emergence of women to limelight may perhaps be traced to the revival of matriarchal elements in society. We have seen that with growing acculturation and spread of literacy, the emergent tribal elite began to appropriate royal symbols and modes of political control * 483. It was perhaps under the influence of these new groups of the ruling class that women came to the forefront as rulers and administrators. Traces of matriarchy are visible even today among the lower castes and tribes of this region. Among the Kurubas, Bēḍas and Vaḍḍas daughter's children inherit family property in the absence of sons. This is done after the dedication of the daughter to a deity as Basavi. The affiliation of the son-in-law is also widely prevalent among the Hoḷeyas, Bēḍas, Vaḍḍas, the Gangaḍikāra Vokkaligas, the Morasu Vokkaligas, the Goḷḷas and a section of the Gāṇigas. They inherited a share of the father-in law's property together with their brothers-in law * 484. The inheritance of daughters is perhaps illustrated by the Bandaḷike inscription of AD 919-20. As we have seen earlier, this epigraph records the bestowal of a nāḷgāvuṇḍu on gāvuṇḍi Jākiyabbe as a reward for her husband's gallantry. It goes on to register the succession of her daughter to that post after Jākiyabbe adopted Jaina vows of ritual death. *485

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*480 Supra Chapter III,Section B, fn 195, 199, 201.

*481 Supra Chapter IV, Section A, B, fn. 8, 9, 16, 19, 80

*482 EC IV (new ed) Ko 10.

*483 Supra,Chapter III, Section B, p.155, fn 298.

*484 C H Rao, Mysore Gazetteer, Vol I, pp 181 - 182.

*485 supra,Section E, p237, fn.388.

It is not clear whether this succession of the daughter was in the absence of a male heir and whether the daughter had been dedicated as a Basavi. There is no information on this score. But the fact that Vokkaligas even today bequeath a share of their property to sons-in-law would indicate that the succession of daughters was a common practice in all probability even in the medieval period.

The association of sons-in-law is attested by several other records as well. The Yelaburige inscription of Māyindamarasa records the death of the brother-in-law (bāva, wife's brother) of Jeṭṭayya gāvuṇḍa of Maragal in a raid on that place * 486. Similarly, the Āsandi inscription of Mārasimha II refers to Naraga's death together with his son-in-law (aḷiya) and children.*487 An inscription from Śravaṇabeḷgōḷa indicates that the position of Mahāmātya in the Ganga Kingdom under Ereyappa II was inherited by the son-in-law of the previous incumbent *488.

Thus, practices of modern matriarchal castes and tribes are attested to even in the early medieval period. The increased visibility of women in epigraphs may thus indicate the resurgence of matriarchal elements in society. In the previous phase the patriarchal Dharmaśāstric norms had been pervasive.

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* 486 EC XVII (rev. ed) Bg 94.

* 487 EC VI (old ed) Kd 147.

* 488 EC II (new ed) SB 186.

# CHAPTER V

## NATURE OF STATE IN SOUTHERN KARNATAKA

### (A) THEORETICAL ASSUMPTIONS :

There has been much debate recently on the nature of state in early medieval India. In the earlier works upto the mid 1950's, the unitary state with its centrally organized kingdom and strong central bureaucracy held the field . B.L.Rice, in his Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions published in 1909, dealt with the administrative system of early medieval Southern Karnāṭaka at some length.*1 However, the discussion was not confined to the Gaṅgas. Rice discusses them together with all other dynasties, which had ruled in that region. The implication clearly is that there was not much change in the administration from the period of Nandas and Mauryas to that of Vijayanagara. His account is largely descriptive and is based principally on epigraphic references. He considers the aims and ideals of administration,the role of brāhmaṇas, priests and saints, the status and functions of the yuvarāja, the duties and functions of ministers, the provincial administration, military affairs, revenue matters, the various dues paid by the population and remissions thereof.
He also discusses the judicial system, provision of irrigation facilities and the local government. The other chapters are devoted to manners and customs, literature and religion. There is very little attempt to correlate these different aspects.

This format was followed by other scholars who have worked on the Gaṅgas. Some quotations of Rice are repeated by them. Thus Mādhava I is said to have assumed the honours of the kingdom solely for the sake of good government. This

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*1 B.L.Rice, Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions, Bangalore 1909.,pp 167 - 84.

statement in his eulogy is repeated ad nauseum by all works on Ganga administration.*2

M.V.Krishna Rao's monograph on the Gangas was published in 1936 when the nationalist movement was at its height. His attitude was influenced by this fact as is clearly revealed by the following statement: "The royal authority was by no means despotic, for the constitution itself was designed not in the interests of the king or one class but to secure for all classes as full a measure of liberty and spiritual and material possessions as their respective capacities and considerations for the common weal permitted."*3 Krishna Rao too had a fairly static view of history, deriving his information on administration, social life, religion and other aspects not only from contemporary records but also from those of preceding and succeeding periods. The same could be said for B.Sheik Ali whose History of the Western Gangas was published in 1976. He concludes his chapter on administration with the following statement: "......the Ganga administration contained almost the same features that are to be seen in any ancient dynasties (sic) of Karnāṭaka, namely the king the queen, the yuvarāja, the Ministers, the Governors, the district heads and village officers, all performing the same functions as under the Kadambas, or the Cālukyas, or the Rāṣṭrakūṭas or the Hoysaḷas".*4

Sheik Ali follows the pattern set by Rice and Krishna Rao in most respects. The only difference is that he has a strong regionalist bias which is most apparent in his discussion of the origins of the dynasty.*5

K.A.Nilakanta Sastri, the doyen of Indian historians of his generation has discussed the structure of polity in South India in this period. He places great stress on

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*2 M.V.Krishna Rao, The Gaṅgas of Talkāḍ, A Monograph on the History of Mysore from the fourth to the close ofthe eleventh century. Mysore, 1936, p.120; B.Sheik Ali, A History of the Western Gangas, Mysore, 1976, p.105.

*3 M.V.Krishna Rao, op.cit.,p 125.

*4 B.Sheik Ali, op.cit.,p.214.

*5 Ibid, Chapter I, particularly pp 11 - 17.

the autonomy of the village and its self-governing institutions. On the other hand, the king is also described as an autocrat who placed heavy demands by way of taxes, tolls and imposts on the villages. The autocracy of the king is said to be mitigated by the hereditary officials of the state, the presence of numerous feudatory monarchs and the domination of social life by the numerous corporate organizations.*6 In conceptual terms such writings fed the stereotype of 'Oriental Despotism' and a self-sufficient village community. But the conception of polity in all these works was contradictory. On the one hand we have the king presiding over a centralized bureaucratic structure and wielding supreme power while on the other we have feudatories and governors who were powerful in their own sphere. Further, villages were largely self-governing. This was coupled with a static view of society which was studied on the basis of the Dharmaśāstras,Purāṇas and other religious texts rather than on the basis of contemporary evidence. Nor was there any attempt to correlate the various aspects of polity, society and economy.*7

This static view of Indian history was first challenged by D.D.Kosambi in 1956 when he published two articles on the development of feudalism in India and the origin of feudalism in Kashmir.*8 Two years later R.S.Sharma commenced the contribution of a series of articles in various journals on the origin and development of feudalism in India which were incoporated in his monograph Indian Feudalism.*9 D.D.Kosambi proposed a two-stage theory of the development of feudalism. The first stage which he terms "feudalism from above" commenced in the early centuries of the

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*6 K.A.Nilakanta Sastry, A History of South India, 4th ed., 7th impression, 1987; Ist pub. 1955., pp.163 - 168

*7 G.K.Vettickal, Development of South Indian Historiography, Ph.D.Thesis, Karnataka University, Dharwad, 1981, p.411.

*8 D.D.Kosambi, "On the Development of Feudalism in India" in the Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute , Vol XXXVI, 1956 pp.256-369; "Origins of Feudalism in Kashmir" in Journal of Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society 1956-57.,pp.108-20.

Christian era when kings began to transfer fiscal and administrative rights over land to their subordinate chiefs thus creating a class of intermediaries between the peasantry and the royalty. This, he believed reached an advanced stage of development during the period of the Guptas and Harṣa. Later,a class of landowners developed within the village and came to wield armed power over the peasantry. This,he terms "feudalism from below".*10 However in the early stages we do not have much evidence for the creation of a class of lay intermediaries. On the other hand, the majority of land grants record grants of land together with administrative and fiscal rights to brāhmaṇas and later to temples. Secular assignments as a reward for military service was a development contemporaneous with the rise of the stratum of rural landlords. Subordinate chiefs appear to have emerged out of autochthonous population and were encapsulated within existing early medieval states either through conquest or their voluntary acceptance of the sovereignty of a crowned king of recognized lineage.*11 A similar process of integration of minor chieftains and the growth of a regional kingdom has been delineated for early medieval Orissa by Kulke.*12

R.S.Sharma on the other hand holds that feudalism in India commenced with landgrants to religious beneficiaries - brāhmaṇas, temples and monasteries. They were given complete fiscal, administrative and judicial rights without interference from royal officials. These rights were later given to secular chiefs as well. Such grants became more popular in a milieu wherein local self-sufficient economies were developing even as urban centres and commercial intercourse declined. The rise of landed intermediaries

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*9 R.S.Sharma, "Origins of Feudalism in India (c.AD 400-650) in J.E.S.H.O., 1958,pp.297-328; Indian Feudalism, c.AD 300- 1200, Calcutta 1965.

*10 D.D.Kosambi, An Introduction to the study of Indian History; Bombay 1956, p 275-76.

*11 Supra, Chapter IV for an analysis of the composition of the class of feudatories.

*12 Hermann Kulke "Fragmentation and Segmentation versus Integration ? Reflections on the concepts of Indian Feudalism and Segmentary state in Indian History" in Studies in History, Vol IV, No.2 (1982), pp.255-263.

led to restrictions on the mobility of the peasantry which was under the obligation to perform forced labour. The peasantry also had to bear greater tax burdens.*13

Both Kosambi and Sharma stressed the decline of foreign trade and urban commodity production as the prelude to the development of a feudal economy marked by a paucity of coins. This, in their opinion necessitated land grants since cash payments to state functionaries could no longer be made.

D.C.Sircar opposed the application of the concept of feudal mode of production to early medieval India. He defined feudalism as the grant of fiefs by the overlord to tenants-in-chief in return for specific services. He argued that in India the majority of the charters record grants of land to temples or brāhmaṇas without stipulating any obligations of the donees towards the donor and added that priests were unsuitable for rendering services of the feudal type.*14 However, as Kulke observes and we have seen in the case of the early Gaṅgas, brāhmaṇas helped to establish state structure in the outlying areas where state formation was of recent occurrence.*15

Sircar is of the opinion that even in secular assignments of Jāgīrs in lieu of salary, no obligations of the feudal type are specified in our records.*16 While epigraphic sources are indeed silent on the obligations of the asignees, literary works which we have cited elsewhere, clearly reveal that retainers were expected to repay with their lives if need be in lieu of the material support received from the lord.*17

It has been argued that both Sharma and Sircar view feudalism essentially in

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*13 R.S.Sharma, Indian Feudalism, loc.cit.,pp 265 - 267.

*14 D.C.Sircar, Studies in the Political and Administrative Systems in Ancient and Medieval India, Delhi 1974, p.16-17.

*15 H.Kulke, "Fragmentation and Segmentation...." loc.cit.p.241.,Also supra, Chapter IV.

*16 D.C.Sircar, op.cit.,p.17.

*17 Supra, Chapter IV

terms of the West European experience. Perlin has pointed out that there are two types of usages of the term "feudal". The first is classificatory and concerns a comparison with medieval Europe. This usage raises the issues of service tenures, property rights, differing degrees and forms of peasant bondage, militarism and political segmentation. The second usage is concerned with the nature of social and political relations of production. When surplus is generated through non-economic means, for instance, through political and military power backed up by jural institutions and growth derives from an increase in the intensity of surplus extraction through non-economic means then conditions of production may be described as feudal in the Marxist sense of the term. R.S.Sharma in his opinion confuses the two usages and applies the term feudal to India by demonstrating the actual historical formation of certain characteristic ties and relations of classical European feudalism. Pirenne's thesis of decline of markets and money-use stimulating a return to closed autarkic type of economy and search for protection acts as a model for Sharma in his monograph.*18

Mukhia observes that trade and feudalism are no longer considered as incompatible as the Pirennean thesis held,a point also made by D.N.Jha.*19 Moreover, the complete eclipse of trade and urbanization in early medieval India has been questioned by D.C.Sircar and B.D.Chattopadhyaya.*20 Mukhia's main criticism of the concept of Indian feudalism relates to the question of its origin and causation. Whereas in Europe feudalism arose as a result of changes at the base of society and a crisis in the primitive Germanic mode of production as well as the slave mode of

*18 Frank Perlin, "Concepts of Order and Comparison....." in H.Mukhia and T.J.Byres (ed) Feudalism and Non-European Societies., p.90, 108

*19 H.Mukhia, "Was there Feudalism in Indian History" in Ibid, p. 267; D.N.Jha, "Early Indian Feudalism: A Historiographical Critique", Presidential Address, Ancient India Section , PIHC, (Waltair, 1979), p. 20

*20 D.C.Sircar, Studies in Political...., loc. cit,pp.18-20., B.D.Chattopadhyaya, "Trade and Urban centres in Early Medieval North India" in I.H.R., Vol I, No.2,(Sep.1974), pp.203-19.

production, the origins of Indian feudalism is attributed by its proponents mainly to state action in granting lands in lieu of salary or in charity. The donees then subjected the peasantry through the legal rights granted by the state.*21

Furthermore, Mukhia holds that in Europe, feudalism was characterized by a structured dependence of the class of peasants on the lord wherein a part of the labour of the peasants was diverted from their own manse to the demesne of the lord. In India on the other hand, he opines that peasants enjoyed autonomy in the process of production and forced labour was an incidental manifestation of the administrative and political power of the ruling class.*22 Since the process of agricultural production in India did not create an acute shortage of labour, enserfment of the peasant was rarely resorted to.*23

However, as Wickham observes, Mukhia's definition of feudalism as constituted by labour service would imply that labour service constituted control by the landlords over the work process different in type from that involved in the specification of precise types of produce as rent in kind. In fact even in western Europe, labour service was not the only method of surplus extraction, rent in cash and kind are also attested to. These were not different economic systems.*24

Mukhia is of the view that in India surplus was extracted by the state, and this formed the chief instrument of exploitation, in the form of revenue and cesses.The high fertility of land and the low subsistence level of the peasantry enabled the state to

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*21 H.Mukhia, op.cit.,p.268.

*22 Ibid, p.268.

*23 Ibid, p.271.

*24 Chris Wickham, "The Uniqueness of the East" in H.Mukhia and T.J.Byres (ed), op.cit.,p.168.

appropriate a high quantum of surplus in conditions of relative stability. In addition, the peasant's independent control over production obviated the possibility of acute social tensions which might have necessitated wholesale changes in the system of production.*25

This would imply, then, as Stein has pointed out that there was no major change in the means and relations of production for some two thousand years. Mukhia thereby denies any basis for the materialist explanation of the pre-colonial period. Thus changes from the post-Mauryan to the Mughal period have to be explained by precisely the political, judicial and ideological forces which he criticises in the interpretations of Indian feudalism. Stein also observes that the point about soil fertility is misconceived. In his opinion, the difference between the European and south Asian agrarian regimes lies not in the greater fertility of Indian soils but in the greater span of time available for cultivation. Given adequate moisture, cultivation can take place almost throughout the year on most soils. But without that, yields are low and uncertain, worse than in Europe.*26

In response to these views, Sharma has somewhat amended his argument, providing an essentialist definition of feudalism as characterized by a class of landlords and a class of servile peasants, wherein surplus is extracted in cash, kind or labour through non-economic means.*27 Moreover, the origin of feudalism in India is no longer attributed entirely to state action but to a social crisis reflected in many epic and purāṇic passages bemoaning the evils of the Kali Age. These describe a state of chaos wherein the vaiśyas and śūdras refused to perform their assigned functions and peasants ceased to pay taxes in protest against the excessive oppression by the state. This appears to have necessitated the practice of land grants in lieu of salary on a wide scale in the major part of the country

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*25 H.Mukhia, "Was there Feudalism in Indian History", op.cit. p.274-75.

*26 B.Stein, "Politics, Peasants and the Deconstruction of Feudalism in Medieval India" in H.Mukhia and T.J.Byres (ed), op.cit., pp.56-57

*27 R.S.Sharma, "How Feudal was Indian Feudalism" in Ibid, p.20.

from the fourth or fifth century AD.*28 However, as D.N.Jha points out, the areas where the land grant economy first emerged were on the periphery of the regions with the firmly entrenched brahminical order and thus did not have anything to do withthe decadence and social crisis of the Kali Age.*29 B.D.Chattopadhyaya also questions the existence of such a crisis since the breakdown of the Mauryan state to which the emergence of the feudal polity is traced does not appear to have generated any crisis. In fact the disappearance of the Mauryan and even the Gupta empire was followed by a spurt of state formation in areas of pre-state polity.*30

Sharma questions Mukhia's contention that the Indian peasant enjoyed autonomy in production. He cites epigraphic evidence to support his view that beneficiaries both lay and religious, came to enjoy numerous privileges in the early medieval period. These privileges included the right to try civil and criminal cases, levy fines, freedom from the entry of royal officials, etc., which enabled them to effectively exploit the peasantry living in the estate granted to them. Many charters confer on the beneficiaries complete control over all the resources of the village such as minerals which would enable the donees to control the process of production.*31

Where serfdom is concerned, Sharma argues that it is not coeval with feudalism.*32 This is also the view of Barry Hindess and Paul Hirst who opine that the core of the feudal mode of production lay essentially in the rent extraction relationship intrinsic to pre-capitalist landlordship backed up by coercive force. Peasant enserfment was not a necessary concomitant or a defining feature. If it is considered an essential

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*28 Ibid, pp.33-34.

*29 D.N.Jha, "Early Indian Feudalism: A Historiographical Critique", Presidential Address, Ancient India Section, 40th Session, Waltair, 1979; p.21-22.

*30 B.D.Chattopadhyaya, "Political Processes and Structure of Polity...." loc.cit.,p.30; H.Kulke, Jagannatha kult und Gajapati Konigtum, Weisbaden 1979, p.223-224.

*31 R.S.Sharma, "How Feudal...." loc.cit., pp.26-28.

*32 Ibid, p.30, 32.

attribute of feudalism, very little of medieval western Europe could be characterized as feudal.*33 Sharma also refutes Mukhia's argument that the process of production in India did not create an acute shortage of labour by directing our attention to the fact that paddy cultivation, particularly the process of transplantation of paddy saplings was labour intensive. Hence paddy transplantation would create scarcity of labour in the peak season necessitating resort to forced labour.*34 Moreover, he argues that the terms sōtpādyamānaviṣṭi and sarva viṣṭi which occur in land grants possibly implied the use of forced labour in the process of production as well. Compulsory attachment of peasants to the soil is also attested to from Madhya Pradesh, Chamba, Eastern India and Rajasthan. Hence he argues that serfdom in India cannot be dismissed as an incidental feature.*35

Perry Anderson opposes the essentialist definition of feudalism which reduces it to a combination of large landownership with small peasant production where the exploiting class extracts surplus from the immediate producer by the customary forms of labour services and rents in cash or kind. He argues that by ignoring the juridical and constitutional systems peculiar to feudalism, in particular, parcellized sovereignty, vassal heirarchy and fief system, in the definition of feudalism the unique dynamism of the European theatre of feudalism cannot be explained.*36 In his opinion, all pre-capitalist modes of production are characterized by extra-economic coercion and therefore these modes can only be defined in terms of their political, legal and ideological superstructures since these determine the type of extra-economic coercion that specifies them.*37

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*33 B.Hindess and P.Q.Hirst, Precapitalist Modes of Production, London 1975, p.254.

*34 R.S.Sharma, "How Feudal.....", loc.cit.,pp.31-32.

*35 Ibid, p.32.

*36 Perry Anderson, Lineages of the Absolutist State, London, Ist ed.,1974, 2nd ed.,1987, p 402-403.

*37 Ibid, pp. 403-404.

However, Chris Wickham has suggested that the difference between the historical development of Europe and Asia lies in the fact that in Europe alone the feudal mode of production dominated the social formation.*38 In Asia, the feudal mode of production subsisted along with state taxation which he terms the "tributary mode of production", borrowing the phrase from Samir Amin. In his opinion, the territorial extent of the state increased and decreased by turns, empires were frequently replaced by regional kingdoms, but the centralized state and its revenue collection machinery never entirely disappeared as in medieval Europe. Tax collection, in his opinion was never decentralized institutionally in Asia although it was farmed out in times of trouble.*39

Sharma, however, is of the opinion that it was precisely the institutional decentralization of the revenue collection machinery which occurred in the fifth and sixth century AD through the process of land grants to brāhmaṇas and other religious beneficiaries. The collection of taxes was entrusted on a permanent basis to lay and clerical beneficiaries in India. This enabled the feudal aristocracy to take root in the country side and wipe out the centralized state machinery.*40 To what extent this holds good for southern Karnataka in the early medieval period shall be taken up later.

Although Anderson was of the opinion that parcellized sovereignty, vassal heirarchy and the fief system were peculiar to Europe we have already cited sufficient evidence to indicate their existence in the period and region under study. The difference

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*38 Chris Wickham, op.cit.,p.169.

*39 Ibid,pp 187 ff.

*40 Nicholas Dirks also holds that the pre-colonial Indian kingdoms were sustained by means of an efficient system of military mobilization organized around subordinate chieftains,connubial connections and privileged landholding rather than a centralized or a bureaucratically organized system of revenue collection. Military organization was sustained by royal grants and little if any revenue flowed to the royal treasury. "The original caste: Power, History and Heirarchy in South Asia" in Mckim Marriott (ed) IndiaThrough Hindu Categories, Delhi 1990, p.66.

lay in the fact that service assignments were not made conditional to the performance of military service but were rewards for past performance of such service. There does not appear to be any evidence for their revocation. The obligation of the vassals to their lord is brought out in the literary works of the period through the concept of jōlapāḷi.*41 Hence even if we define feudalism in terms of its superstructural components the applicability of the term feudalism for India of the early medieval period cannot be denied.

Thus, the feudal political order was characterized by the existence of a large number of sāmantas of various grades. The growth of the sāmanta hierarchy after the sixth century was reflected in the ideology of dharmavijaya whereby the conqueror was enjoined to reinstate defeated princes, but its material basis has been explained by the protagonists of the Indian feudalism theory to the fragmentation and hierarchial gradation of political authority.*42

Whereas the Indian feudalism school views the sāmanta hierarchy as an expression of parcellized sovereignty, Kulke and Chattopadhyaya lay stress on the integrative mechanisms operative in the early medieval polity. Chattopadhyaya is of the view that the main trends in the early medieval period were the horizontal spread of agrarian settlements, caste formation through the spread of the dominant ideology of social order based on varṇa divisions; and the integration of local cults, rituals and sacred centres into a supralocal structure by seeking affiliation with a deity of supralocal significance. Parallel to these developments in the economic, social and religious fields, the political processes of the period were characterized by the presence of established norms and nuclei of state society, the horizontal spread of state society by the transformation of pre-state polities into state polities and the integration of local polities into structures transcending the bounds of local polities.*43 The spread of state society

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*41 Infra, Section B.

*42 B.N.S.Yadava, Soceity and Culture in Northern India in the Twelfth century, Allahabad 1973, p.149.

*43 B.D.Chattopadhyaya, "Political Processes....", loc.cit., p.36

in the early medieval period led to the proliferation of ruling lineages in both the nuclear and peripheral areas. The domains of these lineages were not static since mobilization of military power could displace a ruling lineage. He cites the instance of the Bādāmi Cālukyas who were supplanted in northern Karṇāṭaka by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas in AD 757. The Rāṣṭrakūṭas in turn were overthrown by the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇi in AD 973.*44

Consequently, Chattopadhyaya suggests that the study of polity commence with an analysis of the formation of lineages and the network represented by them at different levels of organization of political power. At the supra local level, there were many different foci of power represented by the sāmanta system. The structure of polity was based not on the elimination of existing bases of power but on their integration, with the overlord as the spearhead of the structure. The overlord himself had his roots in local lineage power. The expansion of the lineage to supra-local power was through a pooling of military resources and other forms of support from other lineages. Such pooling required not only a redistribution of resources acquired in the process of expansion but also a system of ranking related to the territorial hold of the rankholder. Since the territory of a lineage was far from static, the ranking of individual lineages also underwent changes.*45

The model of integrative polity does not question the existence of a sāmanta feudatory network. Rather, it questions the standard interpretation which views it as a creation of the state. Instead, the early medieval polity is viewed as having arisen from the spread of state society to peripheral areas and its penetration to the local agrarian level.*46 It suggests how these intermediary strata could have emerged. It also recognizes that the presence of these sāmantas, the landed aristocracy of this period led to the weakening of the state's hold over both the polity and the revenue from its constituent territorial units.*47 However, beyond this, the socio-economic infrastructure of the early medieval polity is not discussed. Thus while the model of integrative polity differs from the Indian Feudalism School on the question of the

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*44 Ibid.

*45 Ibid, pp.43-45.

*46 Ibid, p.46.

*47 Ibid, p.44.

genesis of the fragmented early medieval political order it does not question its existence. The recognition that the centre could not enjoy the revenues from the territories held by the sāmantas amounts to at least a partial acquiscence in characterising the state as feudal.

Kulke in his study of Orissa posits a step-wise territorial integration of nuclear areas and the growth of a regional kingdom.*48 This process of conquest and integration was supplemented and supported by cultural integration through the media of religion and language. Cultural integration operated through the growth of regional traditions. In Orissa, this was focussed around the cult of Jagannātha sponsored by the Eastern Gangas, the first suzerains to have integrated all the nuclear areas of Orissa. The Jagannātha cult integrated at the regional level, the major sub-regional and local cults. This period also witnessed the compilation of local legends and traditions whether in the vernacular or in Sanskrit. These compilations or Sthala Purāṇas played an important role in the assimilation of tribes and integrated the legends and tradition of the local nuclear areas.*49

Apart from the models of feudal and integrative polity, a group of western scholars has recently suggested that the early medieval polity is best characterized as segmentary. The segmentary state theory has been derived from Aidan Southall's analysis of an East African society, the Ālūr.*50 Stein, the leading exponent of this theory, has postulated the following defining features for a segmentary state:

(i) limited territorial sovereignty which weakens as one moves from the centre to the periphery, shading off into ritual hegemony;

(ii) centralized government existing together with numerous peripheral foci of administration over which the centre exercises limited control;

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*48 H.Kulke, Fragmentation and Segmentation...... " loc.cit., pp.258-259.

*49 Ibid, pp.260-62.

*50 Aidan Southall, Alur Society: A study in Process and Types of Domination. Cambridge 1956, quoted in Burton Stein, Peasant, State and Society in Medieval South India, OUP, Delhi 1980; p.265.

(iii)repetition on a reduced scale of the specialized administrative staff of the centre in the peripheral foci;

(iv) absence of absolute monopoly of force at the centre;

(v) shifting allegiances of the periphery as a result of which the segmentary states are flexible and fluctuating.

(vi) several levels of subordinate foci may be distinguishable, organized pyramidally in relation to the central authority.

The central and peripheral authorities reflect the same model the latter being reduced images of the former. Similar powers are repeated at each level with a decreasing range.*51

Stein holds that the basic segments of the south Indian segmentary states were the nāḍus under the leadership of chiefs who in the Cōḷa period held titles such as Uḍaiyār, arasar, mummuḍi or mūvēndavēlār. Since segmentation is always associated with complementary opposition among segments, Stein adds that the basis of opposition of these nāḍus was not that of ethnically or culturally differentiated peoples as in the case of the Alur. In the medieval South Indian case opposing elements were of a different nature and often asymmetrical, such as opposition between the family of chiefs and the dominant castes from which they had emerged, between agricultural and non-agricultural groups, between established castes of a locality and newcomers and among sect and cult groups. Many of these oppositions in his opinion, took concrete form in the right and left caste groupings.*52

Stein analyses the territorial structure of the Cōḷa state into three zones as central, intermediate and peripheral.*53 He asserts that effective territorial sovereignty of the Cōḷas was confined only to the central zone, the rich and populous Kāvēri delta and holds that beyond this region, Cōḷa sovereignty was an increasingly ritual hegemony as the peripheral zones of Kongu and Gangavāḍi were approached.*54 The myth of

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*51 Ibid, p.265.

*52 Ibid, pp.270-271.

*53 Ibid, p.285.

*54 Ibid, p.321.

Gangetic origin, the royal Śiva cult which incorporated local and caste tutelary deities, the network of brahmanical institutions established throughout the realm accompanied by impressive rituals at times jointly participated in by the Cōḷa ruling house and the locally dominant personages, the propagation of a standard symbolic system through copper and lithic inscriptions, etc.,are all viewed as means used by the Cōḷa rulers to establish ritual hegemony over the locality chieftains.*55

Stein following Southall posits the segmentary state model in opposition to the unitary state which is defined as possessing territorial sovereignty centralized government a specialized administrative staff and monopoly of the use of legitimate force.*56 However, as R.S.Sharma points out both Southall and Stein miss out the significance of the existence of a privileged ruling class which is implicit in the definition of the state. The extraction of surplus from the primary producers by a privileged class is the distinguishing feature of a state. Instead Southall lays emphasis on voluntary submission which was characteristic of the Alur state. Indeed, the Alur society does not qualify as a state in most respects lacking as it does a system of taxation a professional army and bureaucracy.*57

Stein argued that the Cōḷa state lacked a centralized system of taxation with the king depending mainly on war booty for income. This is further elaborated by Spencer who posits a tax-tribute-plunder continuum with taxation as the form of exaction imposed on areas where dynastic power is strongest, tribute as the form imposed on more peripheral or powerful chiefs and plunder as an irregular exaction taken from the most distant places ordinarily, subject to rival dynastic centres. The conventional view that taxation was the most important and plunder the least important and aberrant source of income is reversed by Spencer. In his view, chiefs, villages and corporate bodies were well organized to resist both cattle raids from neighbouring settlements

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*55 Ibid, p.357. *56 Ibid, p.265

*57 R.S.Sharma, "The Segmentary state and the Indian Experience", in I.H.R., Vol XVI, No.1-2 (July 1989- Jan.1990), p. 82-83.

and unassimilated forest dwelling tribes as well as the revenue demands of the state. Consequently kings had to turn to compensatory long-range plundering raids on rival dynastic territory in order to secure a supplementary flow of booty in the form of livestock, jewels and other forms of portable wealth.*58 Further he holds that such plundering raids also constituted an integrative device whereby kings could mobilize the military capabilities of subordinate chiefs and keep them occupied with profitable expeditions.*59 A similar view of invasions on neighbouring kingdoms is taken by Derrett in his work on the Hoysaḷas. He observes :

" One cannot avoid a suspicion that Ballāḷa's readiness for war in the North was in part due to a desire to find employment for the troublesome inhabitants of his own country. The prospect of booty from Bankāpura and Lokkiguṇḍi was doubtless more attractive than the chance of stealing the cows of the next village but one ".*60

Stein had questioned the existence of tax transfer from the localities to the central government on the ground that the taxes mentioned in inscriptions are unwieldily numerous and were mostly paid in kind since the Cōḷa coinage system was not much developed.*61 However, the research of Karashima and Sitaraman*62 has shown that only a few of the four hundred odd taxes mentioned in Cōḷa inscriptions were widely prevalent and the remaining were mostly local and occasional in nature. These widely prevalent taxes such as irai or Kaḍamai, the major land tax, professional

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*58 G.W.Spencer, "The Politics of Plunder : The Cōḷas in Eleventh Century Ceylon", in the Journal of Asian Studies, Vol XXXV, No.3 (May 1976), p.406-7.

*59 Ibid, p.419.

*60 J.D.M.Derrett, The Hoysaḷas: A Medieval Indian Royal Family, OUP,1957, p.81.

*61 B.Stein, Peasant State.... loc.cit.,pp 258-264.

*62 Noboru Karashima and B.Sitaraman, "Revenue Terms in Cōḷa Inscriptions" in Journal of Asian and African Studies, No.5, Tokyo I.L.C.A.A,1972, pp.87-117 cited in Y.Subbarayalu, "The Cōḷa state", in Studies in History,Vol IV, No.2 (1982), p 287.

taxes on oil pressers, weavers and gold-smiths and tax on cultivating tenants were the major sources of revenue for the state. Although inscriptions are silent on the mode of transfer and storage of grain in the case of taxes collected in kind, a fact made much of by Stein, the fact of tax-transfer cannot be denied.*63

Karashima draws our attention to the land surveys carried out under Rājarāja I and Kulottunga I and the introduction of the valanāḍu territorial unit replacing the Kōṭṭam and integrating the nāḍus as evidence of vigorous attempts made by these kings to build up a centralized, politically integrated state. Moreover, the grants of revenues from villages scattered all over the Cōḷa realm to the Rājarājēśvara temple at Tañjāvūr including villages in Śrī Lanka would point at least to the fact that tax assessment was a centrally managed function.*64 This point is made by Champakalakshmi as well.*65

In the light of all this evidence, the postulation of plunder as the major source of resource acquisitiion does not stand scrutiny at least for the Cōḷa state. As Chattopadhyaya has observed, "politics of plunder" would hold good for the polity of chiefdoms characteristic of the Sangam age but is hardly apposite for the Cōḷa period when a vast agrarian surplus was available for the state for redistribution to integrative elements in society. In addition, the state's penetration into growing networks of trade could expand its resource base tremendously.*66 It remains to be seen how far Spencer's postulate of politics of plunder holds good for Southern Karnataka prior to its conquest by the Cōḷas.

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*63 Ibid, p. 287,299.

*64 Noboru Karashima, South Indian History and Society, loc.cit., Introduction, p (xxvi)-(xxvii).

*65 R.Champakalakshmi, "Urbanization in South India : the role of Ideology and Polity", Presidential Address, Ancient India Section, I.H.C.,( 47th Session, 1986) pp 36-37.

*66 B.D.Chattopadhyaya, "Political Processes....",loc. cit., pp 42-43.

Stein also denies the existence of a standing army. He believes that the earlier existing military units controlled and led by the peasantry were recruited for the military expeditions of the Cōḷas.*67 However, Subbarayalu cites evidence of the existence of royal regiments named after the various pseudonyms of Rājarāja Cōḷa I in the countryside. The military personnel also performed many civil functions. After the eleventh century the peasants grew powerful and we begin to find evidence for the existence of the peasant militia as well as of the supralocal mercantile organizations.*68

Stein interprets Cōḷa officials not as bureaucrats but as locality leaders who derived their power and legitimacy of secular authority from their membership in and leadership over peasant groups in their localities.*69 Whenever adikāris and other high officials are found in royal records they are considered to be performing scribal functions producing ritual documents not bureaucratic orders.*70 However, Subbarayalu points out that Stein confuses offices with titles of status. Officials in the Cōḷa state were highly mobile while locality leaders were confined to their localities.*71 Moreover, Cōḷa inscriptions also record grants of land and revenue which are precisely defined and demarcated. This would indicate that Cōḷa inscriptions were not merely ritual documents aimed at incorporating locality chiefs under their sacral kingship but were records of administrative acts as well.

The distinction between central, intermediate and peripheral zones is of analytical value in the study of dynastic hinterlands.*72 However, Subbarayalu is of the opinion that the zones need to be defined more rigorously since in the case of the Cōḷas

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*67 B.Stein, Peasant State...., loc.cit.,p.189.

*68 Y.Subbarayalu "The Cōḷa Sate", loc.cit.,p.300.

*69 B.Stein Peasant State...., loc.cit.,p.117.

*70 Ibid, p.357.

*71 Y.Subbarayalu, "The Cōḷa State", loc.cit.,p.299.

*72 R.S.Sharma,"The Segmentary state"....loc.cit.p.84-85.

at least, Tondaimandalam which Stein classifies as an intermediate zone should be more correctly considered part of the central zone from the point of view of the temporal distribution of inscriptions.*73

Stein interprets eleemosynary grants as evidence not of political control but of ritual sovereignty.*74 Kulke, however, is of the opinion that in traditional societies, ritual sovereignty is an integral part and sometimes a pacemaker of political power. He feels that Stein is over-strict in his distinction between political power and ritual sovereignty.*75 In his study of the Tiruvidaimarudūr inscriptions, Kenneth Hall has come to a similar conclusion,i.e,that ritual sovereignty was a means to implement political power. The Cōla kings built up a permanent royal presence through their local alliances and networks of loyalty. He shows how the Colas used "divide and rule" tactics favouring the brahmadēya sabhā and the nagaram at Tiruvidaimarudūr as against the Tiraimūr nāttār, thus breaking the nādu autonomy and intervening in local politics. The Uttaramērūr epigraphs are also cited to prove the fluctuating fortunes of the various local corporate bodies in so far as royal favour and patronage were concerned. Thus royal presence in local politics was greater than Stein allows.*76

Subbarayalu has criticised Stein's treatment of the nādus the basic segments of his hypothetical segmentary state. He points out that Stein's suggestions regarding the internal organization of the nādus are speculative and not supported by data.

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*73 Y.Subbarayalu, "The Cōla State", loc.cit.,p.298

*74 B.Stein, "Integration of the Agrarian system of South India" in R.E.Frykenberg (ed) Land Control and Social Structure in Indian History, Madison,1969,p.17.

*75 H.Kulke, "Fragmentation and Segmentation....", loc.cit.,pp.253-254.

*76 Kenneth R.Hall, "Peasant State and Society in Cōla Times: view from the Tiruvidaimarudūr Urban Complex", in I.E.S.H.R. Vol, XVIII, Nos.3-4. (1981), pp.401-404, 409.

For instance, in the predominantly agrarian society of the period, opposition between agricultural and non-agricultural groups would be non-existent or insignificant. Consequently the opposition between the Right and Left Hand groups cannot be viewed as one between agricultural and non-agricultural groups. It is possible that the latter signified an opposition between the established castes of a locality and newcomers. In any case as Stein himself admits relations between opposing elements in South India were often asymmetrical. Thus, in the absence of complementary opposition between balanced and opposed elements it would be hardly appropriate to speak of pyramidal segmentation which was a defining feature of a segmentary state.*77

The other defining features of the segmentary state such as the presence of numerous peripheral foci of administration and the absence of monopoly of the use of legitimate force at the centre, imply a decentralized polity with parcellized sovereignty. This affinity of the segmentary political order with feudalism has been observed by Southall who considered the feudal system compatible with a segmentary political system.*78 Similarly, Stein in his recent formulation posits a generalized polity of chiefdoms based on a strong hereditary principle with extensive authority over wide areas and over varied and internally ranked local social segments. In his opinion these chieftains derived their authority from local landholding groups or from conquest. They were deemed to share sovereignty with greater kings who derived their exalted status from annointment in accordance with the Vedic canon.*79

It is hard to see how this differs from the feudal political order. However, the concept of feudalism is not exhausted with the delineation of a decentralized and

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*77 Y.Subbarayalu, "The Cōḷa State", loc.cit.,p.298.

*78 Aidan Southall Alur Society... loc.cit.,p.256,cited by R.S.Sharma, "Segmentary State.....",p.93.

*79 B.Stein, "The Segmentary State : Interim Reflections" paper presented at Seminar on State in Pre-colonial South India, held at J.N.U.,March,1989,p.12.

parcellized political system. In fact the core of the feudal mode of production lay in the rent-extraction relationship between a class of landlords and a class of servile peasantry. The segmentary state concept on the other hand does not elaborate its socio-economic aspect.*80 In fact Southall envisages the application of the segmentary state concept not only to the feudal mode but also to the kinship mode and to the Asiatic mode. As Sharma observes, our understanding does not improve by applying a blanket label to divergent social formations with separate and distinct identities.*81

Perlin points out that the terms "segmentary state" and "peasant state" are negative and are used by Stein to refer to the priority of the corporate peasant order and its autonomous and pre-state character. Its relations with the court or temple were one of ritual unity and not of a managerial or exploitational kind. Given that the system according to Stein was marked by the absence of surplus extraction, the usage of the term "peasant" is anomalous since the conventional definition of "peasant" posits his incorporation into larger spheres of political or exploitative ordering through various forms of surplus extraction.*82 Thus Stein's usage of the terms "state" and "peasantry" is questionable given his premise that the segmentary state in South India was marked by absence of a bureaucratic state order, a standing army and taxation.

In the light of these varied hypotheses regarding the nature of state in early medieval India, we turn to a study of our sources to examine their validity for our region.

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*80 R.S.Sharma, "Segmentary State and the Indian Experience", loc.cit.,p.93.

*81 Ibid, p.93.

*82 Frank Perlin, "Concepts of Order and Comparison.....", loc.cit.,p.126-127.

## (B) EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE

We have seen that the Gaṅgas perhaps in origin a chiefly clan of southern Karnataka established a principality around Kōlār in the mid-fourth century A.D. probably under the influence of the neighbouring states of the Cuṭukulānanda Śātakarṇis, their successors, the Kadambas, the early Pallavas and the Ikṣvākus of Āndhra dēśa*[83]. The Gaṅgas were apparently aided in their project of state formation and political control by brāhmaṇas whom they patronized on a large scale until the mid-eighth century. Brāhmaṇas had a salient presence in the Gaṅga royal court during the first phase, acting as secretaries,*[84] royal counsellors*[85] and witnesses to royal charters in their capacity as Mahāmanuṣyas of subordinate districts.*[86]

Brāhmaṇas had access to religious, politico - adminsitrative and even scientific and technical texts which enabled them to contribute towards the establishment of a new state and economic structure in many ways. Their contribution to the spread of agriculture by the introduction of new techniques and a calendar is well recognised*[87] as is their role in legitimizing the newly emergent tribal elite by fabricating genealogies and performing ceremonies like the hiraṇyagarbha and aśvamēdha*[88]. Knowledge of the Nīti and Arthaśāstra texts also made them effective political and military advisors - a role highlighted

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*83. supra, Chapter III, Section A.

*84. K.V. Ramesh, Inscriptions of the Western Gaṅgas, New Delhi, 1984, No. 1, 2., 6; 9. etc.

*85. EC VIII (new ed) Hn. 10.

*86. Supra, Chapter III, Section B, fn. 250-253.

*87. R. S. Sharma, Indian Feudalism, 2nd, ed., Delhi (1980), p. 34.

*88. Supra, Chapter III, Section B, fn 262.

by the Keregalūr plates of Mādhavavarman II [Talakāḍ branch][*89]. The drafting of charters, king-lists and other administrative documents was also their preserve[*90].

In Scotland in the same period, writing was introduced by the Church and manipulated to help establish its own position in the traditional pagan society. In doing so, the church extended an awareness of the potential of literacy to secular authorities of the kingdom who began to use documents to authorize their claims to power and position[*91]. In the context of Southern Karnāṭaka brāhmaṇas and even the Jaina Sangha which enjoyed some patronage in the first phase[*92] do not appear to have enjoyed autonomy comparable to the Christian church in Early Historic Scotland which tended to intervene in areas such as dispute - resolution, and affairs of the family, matrimony and inheritance that fell within the jurisdiction of secular authorities. Brāhmaṇas appear to have been more dependent on secular authorities, at least to start with, placing their expertise at the disposal of the king and in return receiving grants which made them autonomous lords over villages and even districts. Instances of conflict between the kings and brāhmaṇa landlords are rare and are datable only from the second phase[*93] by which time the brāhmaṇas were well-entrenched in this region. The nature of privileges granted to the brāhmaṇa donees in the first phase has been examined earlier[*94]. Most of the lands thus granted appear to have been situated in the Eastern division and might have contributed in part, at least to the shift in the locus of power of the Gaṅga lineage from the Eastern to the Western division.

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*89. Ibid, p.147 , fn. 250.

*90. However, other groups such as feudal lords of lower varṇa status [K.V. Ramesh, op. cit., No. 5, 7] and goldsmiths [K.V. Ramesh, op. cit., No. 8, 12] were soon involved in this activity indicating the spread of literacy.

*91. Margaret R. Nieke "Literacy and Power: The Introduction and use of writing in Early Historic Scotland" in J. Gledhill, B. Bender and M.T. Larsen, State and Society, London, (1988), pp. 236-252.

*92. Infra, Chapter VI, Section - A.

*93. Supra, Chapter IV, Section E-I, p230, fn. 354.

*94. Supra, Chapter III, Section B, pp 143f, fn 224-242.

In the context of Tamil Nadu under Pallava rule, Stein has posited a brāhmaṇa-peasant alliance to explain the system of land grants for brāhmaṇas. In his opinion, it was not the Pallavas who gave up rights over taxes and land but the dominant peasantry which patronized the brāhmaṇas with a view to strengthen its own position in the varṇa-divided peasant society. The need to provide ideological coherence to the peasant order in the face of threats from the non-peasant order as had occurred during the Kaḷabhra interregnum was another motive for the class of dominant peasantry to patronize brāhmaṇas in Stein's opinion[*95]. He states that it is inexplicable why the Pallavas should abdicate control over resources to the brāhmaṇas[*96]. By this yardstick it is equally hard to understand why the peasants should gift away their own lands to the brāhmaṇas. As Sharma observes, the ideological propaganda and agricultural knowledge of the brāhmaṇas might have made them acceptable to peasants, but their constant presence in the granted villages and their efforts to collect various kinds of dues strained their mutual relations with the peasants in the long run[*97].

Stein also attributes the absence of a viable kṣatrīya caste in the south to the brāhmaṇa - peasant alliance which obviated the necessity of brāhmaṇas to collaborate with warriors. However, the peasant landholding elite also discharged administrative and military functions[*98] and cannot be considered antipodal to the warrior category[*99]. The lack of a kṣatrīya varṇa in the south is more correctly attributed to the fact that the varṇa system here developed in a period when the category of śūdra came to include all those engaged in agricultural activities including the independent peasants and artisans. The term vaiśya now connoted primarily a trader. Thus the dominant peasant castes of the south, the Veḷḷālas in

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*95. B. Stein, Peasant State and Society, loc. cit., pp. 84-85.

*96. Ibid., p. 82.

*97. R.S. Sharma, "The Segmentary State....", loc. cit., p 86.

*98. Supra, Chapter IV, Section D.

*99. S. Jaiswal, "Studies in Early Indian Social History: Trends and Possibilities", in I.H.R. VI, Nos. 1-2. (1979-80), pp. 34-36.

Tamil Nadu, the Gāvuṇḍas in Karnāṭaka and Reḍḍis and Kammas in Āndhra Pradesh were assigned śūdra status[*100]. Only some local ruling lineages attempted to better their status by claiming descent from well-known kṣatriya vaṁśas under the influence of varṇa ideology.

Stein is factually wrong on another count. Upto the eighth century brahmadēya grants were made by the kings personally. The subordinate chiefs' role was confined to either the execution or to requesting the king to make such grants (vijñapti). For the kings such grants were a means of the acculturation of the periphery and legitimation of their rule. This is borne out by Karashima[*101] also who opines that brahmadēyas were strategically placed to ensure the loyalty of and exert influence on non-brāhmaṇa villages. He hypothesized that brahmadēyas which came into existence as agents of the king's authority could decline with the succession of a new king who could build up his own following among the brāhmaṇas. In part this is borne out by the Gaṅga evidence with Mādhavavarma II of the Talakāḍ branch revoking grants by his cousins of the Kaivāra branch in favour of his own nominee[*102].

The pre-eighth century political and administrative structure does not appear to have been very complex. We have evidence of the division of territory into units designated as viṣaya and bhōga. These units were held by military commanders[*103] and loyal brāhmaṇas[*104]. We have a few references to subordinates who bore the title of arasa [the vernacular variant of Sanskrit rāja] from the sixth century[*105]. These individuals were

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*100. Ibid, p. 37 vide. K.V. Ramesh, op. cit., No. 29 for the sudra categorisation of a gāvuṇḍa subordinate of Gaṅga Bhūvikrama.

*101. N. Karashima "The Power Structure of Cōḷa rule" in Second International Conference Seminar of Tamil Studies, cited in K.R. Hall, "Peasant State....," loc. cit., p. 404.

*102. Supra, Chapter III, Section B, p138, fn 191-192.

*103. K.V. Ramesh, op. cit., No. 5.

*104 EC VIII (new ed.) Hn 10 describes the cāturvaidyas as lords of districts.

*105. K.V. Ramesh, op. cit., No. 23, 27.

possibly local rulers of indeterminate origins who were suboridnated to the Gaṅgas by military or other political means. They evidently held territories in their own right, merely paying tribute to the regional overlords.

The Bēdirūr grant of Bhūvikrama indicates that by the seventh century officials and governors were remunerated for their services in land and revenue. This charter registers the grant of Bēdirūr grāma in Hodali viṣaya to the Kōḷāla viṣayādhipati Vikramāditya gāvuṇḍa[*106]. The point is further reinforced by the Haḷḷegere plates of Śivamāra I, which mention the voygas of Oraṁkal and Sīmpāl who were jointly ruling over Tuppūr[*107]. Voyga in K.V. Ramesh's opinion was the Kannada variant of bhukti[*108] and signified enjoyment of land or revenue.

Thus at the end of the first phase the Gangas had emerged as overlords in an incipient feudal structure, with brāhmaṇas, indigenous chiefs and officials enjoying lands and revenues autonomously. The second phase saw the crystallization of this structure with a vast array of landed intermediaries between the king and the cultivator[*109]. In the eighth century the Gaṅgas controlled their dominions through a peripatetic system indicated by frequent references to vijaya-skandhāvāras[*110] as well as the distribution of the domain among members of the lineage[*111] and transfer of subordinates from one unit to another[*112]. These methods of control appear to have been abandoned in the ninth and tenth centuries when the Gaṅgas appear to have exercised administrative control only over their lineage domains in the Western division. Rival lineages of the Nōḷambas, Bāṇas and

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*106. Ibid., No. 29; vide supra, Chapter III, Secton B, p.157, fn, 272.

*107. EC VII (new ed) Md. 35; ll - 34-35.

*108. K.V. Ramesh, op. cit., No. 35, p. 139, fn. 3

*109. Supra, Chapter IV

*110. K.V. Ramesh, op. cit., No. 42, 43, 45, etc.

*111. Supra, Chapter IV, Section A.

*112. Ibid., p 164, fn 3

Cālukyas held vast tracts of land in the Eastern and Western divisions without acknowledging the sovereignty of the Gaṅgas. The patrimonial estates of the Gaṅgas underwent further dimunition of size when service assignments were made to warriors and vassals who loyally served them. Service assignments were made on terms and tenures similar to those granted to brahmanas and temples; i.e., sarva - mānya, sarva-parihāra, sarva-bādhā-parihāra, abhyantara-siddhi, etc.

Mānya signified tax-free land*113. It is frequently used to denote an estate. The earliest if doubtful reference to mānya comes from the Narasimharājapura plates of Śivamāra II of the early ninth century*114 which record the grant of Karimāniya [black soil as mānya*115] to the cēdiya at Toḷḷar by Viṭṭarasa whio was exercising the rulership (eṟettana) of Sinda nāḍu - 8000 and Tagare nāḍu - 70. Other references come from the end of the tenth century and early eleventh century. The Kempanapura inscription [Chāmarājanagar taluk, Mysore district] of A.D. 991 registers the grant of two khaṇḍugas of wet land, at Kiri Hērūr, and a garden and ten khaṇḍugas of land within his own mānya in Nelligunda at Pōginūr by Poḷeyya of Kellūr to Sōmarāśi bhaṭṭāraka*116. Here mānya seems to denote estate. It is noteworthy that Poḷeyya does not seek the consent of any superior authority for the grant. Similarly, the Tāḷagunda inscription [Shikārpur taluk, Shimoga district] records the grant of Nariyāḷige - 70 as mannēya to Kāyimma by Pergaḍe Kāḷimayya*117, while the Tāgarati inscription [Shikārpur Taluk] of A.D. 1027 registers the grant of Kūḍigeri Manneya in Koḍanāḍu-30 as abhyantara-siddhi to the deity Nārāyaṇadēva of the temple constructed by Pērbārva Mādhavayya, the son of Arasimayya, the ūr-oḍeya of Tāgaracce*118. In both these cases mannēya denotes estate. Moreover, all these were

*113. D.C. Sircar, I.E.G., q.v. mānya, mannēya

*114. K.V. Ramesh, Op. cit., No. 85.

*116. Ibid, p. 275, fn 2.

*116. EC IV. (new ed) Ch. 145.

*117. EC VII (old ed) Sk. 179 of A.D. 997.

*118. Ibid, Sk. 53.

instances of sub-infeudation where grants of land were made to secular or religious beneficiaries by feudal lords without reference to the overlord. In one case, an entire unit of seventy villages was thus bestowed.

Biḷāvṛtti is another term denoting an inalienable, permanent land tenure. It is mentioned in the Kārbail inscription [Nāgamaṅgaḷa taluk, Maṇḍya district] of the ninth century*[119]. This hero-stone records that Ārambhallava was ruling Iḍuḷe in perpetuity ['biḷāvṛtti āḷuttire']. Ramesh interprets bīḷā as permanent being the converse of bīḷ, to quit, while vṛtti connoted land granted for the donee's enjoyment*[120]. Here Ārambhallava was evidently the local lord who held Idule en permanence. Under his auspices a kalnāḍ grant was made to the hero who fell during the Rāṣṭrakūṭa invasion in defence of Gangavāḍi.

Sarva parihāra and Sarva-bādhā-parihāra signify land granted with all exemptions and free from all troubles*[121]. We have seen that early Ganga charters used these blanket phrases without any further specification of their import*[122]. This continued in the eighth century as well. The Baradur grant charter of A.D. 725 registers the donation of Bāradūr grāma to a brāhmaṇa as sarva-parihāra*[123]. No details are given to explain what it denoted. Similarly the eighth century Dēvarahaḷḷi inscription [Guṇḍlupēṭ taluk Mysore, district] registers the grant of land where paddy (nellu) and pāṇḍi (?) could be grown as well as garden land (toṭṭa) to the Seventy of Upagōḷa as sarva-parihāra*[124]. However, the Agara inscription [Yelandūr taluk, Mysore district] of the same period indicates that the term sarva-parihāra could be used even when exemptions related to specific dues only*[125]. The

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*119. K.V. Ramesh, op. cit., No. 99.

*120. Ibid., p. 313, fn. 1.

*122. D.C. Sircar, I.E.G., q.v. parihāra, sarva-bādhā-parihāra

*122. Supra, Chapter III; Section B., p. 143 ff

*123. EC V (new ed.) Kn 49.

*124. EC III (new ed) Gu 207.

*125. EC IV (new ed.) Yl. 138.

Tāyalūru inscription [Maddūr taluk, Maṇḍya district] of A.D. 907 suggests that sarva-parihāra grants were not in fact fully exempt from taxation. This inscription registers the grant of 35 gaṇḍugas of land out of which five were for personal consumption while pattondi tax had to be paid on the remaining thirty gaṇḍugas. In addition, the payment of fifteen paṇas in lōha drammas annually and 12 kuḷas of pepper (? miki) and one kula of clarified butter has been stipulated*[126]. At all events, it is clear that even lands granted as sarva-parihāra could not escape taxation entirely. Whether this held good in all cases cannot be discerned from available evidence.

Similar evidence is not forthcoming in grants made with the condition sarva-bādhā-parihāra meaning "free from all troubles". Thus the Kyātanahaḷḷi inscription [Pāṇḍavapura taluk,Maṇḍya district) of the end of the ninth century records a sarva-bādhā-parihāra grant for the Kella basadi constructed by Cāgi Permānaḍi*[127]. There is no hint of a tax liability. Another grant of the same period is recorded in the Hire-Bāsūr vīrgal [Kaḍūr taluk, Chikmagaḷūr district] which registers the gift of Bāsanūr to Mārasingha gāmuṇḍa who died in a battle against Nōḷamba of Āsandi nāḍ*[128]. Two inscriptions from Varuṇa [Mysore taluk] of the tenth century register sarva-bādhā-parihāra grants for the Būteśvara temple which were entrusted to Nannikarttāra bhaṭāra*[129]. In all these cases the donees enjoyed complete control over the gift land, apparently without any tax liability to a superior authority.

Another land tenure mentioned in inscriptions is talavṛtti. The I.E.G. explains this as land granted for the maintenance of a temple or a deity at the time of consecration*[130]. Our inscriptions do not bring out this association with first consecration though talavṛttis were clearly meant for the maintenance of the temple and worship therein. Thus the Hecce

*126. EC VII (new ed) Mu 56.

*127. EC VI (new ed) Ppu 16.

*128. EC VI (old ed) Kd 141.

*129. EC V. (new ed) My 168, 169.

*130. D.C. Sircar, I.E.G., q. v. talavṛtti

inscription [Sōrāb taluk, Shimoga district] of A.D. 939 records grants for the Śrikaṇṭhēśvara temple by Kaṭakada gōva Caṭṭayyadēva in the presence of Mahāsāmantādhipati Māciga who was ruling the kingdom of Banavāsi-12,000. The grants were made for (i) aṅgabhōga, (ii) raṅgabhōga (iii) caitrapavitra, (iv) tapōdanara āhāradāna (v) khaṇḍasphuṭita jīrṇōddhāra and (vi) naivēdya and included the talavṛtti of lands to the south of the fort in the Kallakevabeya polage*131. There is no indication that the temple was newly constructed and consecrated. But the grant was made both for the maintenance of the structure and the conduct of various rites therein. Similarly, the Śirālakoppa inscription [Shikārpur taluk, Shimoga district] of A.D. 1019*132 records several grants of lands, gardens and streets*133 for the temple of Mūlasthāna Nandikēśvara after its renovation for (i) naivēdya and (ii) khaṇḍasphuṭita jīrṇōddhāra as talavṛtti. - Thus renovation of a temple was also an occasion for making talavṛtti grants. These lands apparently constituted the temple estate over which the management exercised complete control. There is no indication of royal interference once the grant was made nor of a tax liability to the local or royal authorities.

Sircar is of the opinion that lands were declared tax-free only when the individual at whose instance the grant was made compensated the state for loss of revenue*134. This is certainly the case with the Cōḷas*135. Moreover, under the Cōḷa administration, even brahmadēyas were not exempt from taxation*136. For Southern Karnāṭaka prior to the Cōḷa conquest, we have no evidence either of compensation for loss of revenue or for payment of taxes by brahmadēya villages to the state. The Tāyalūru inscription cited above records a

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*131 EC VIII (old ed) Sb 476.

*132. EC VII (old ed) Sk. 125.

*133. Supra, Chapter II, Section C

*134. D.C. Sircar "Landlord and Tenant" in Idem, Political and Administrative Systems, loc., cit., pp. 3-4.

*135. EC V. (new ed) T.N. 227, 230.

*136. Y. Subharayalu, "The Cōḷa State", loc. cit., p. 293.

bittuvaṭṭa grant and not an eleemosynary gift. Thus grants of land made under tenures such as mānya, sarva-bādhā-parihāra and taḷavṛtti or bīlāvṛtti imply an institutional decentralization of the taxation system with the right to collect taxes due to the state vested with the donees for their own consumption. Indeed, the numerous references to taxes in our inscriptions occur in the context of sub-infeudation in most cases.

Early Kadamba and Cāḷukya records mention taxes such as kara, antaḥkara (internal taxes), paṅga [contributions from eleemosynary holdings], utkōṭa [presents to the king], hiraṇya [cash revenues]*[137] from which the donees were exempt. Early Gaṅga inscriptions also mention some specific dues. The Noṇamaṅgaḷa copper plates of the close of the fifth century belonging to the reign of Avinīta record the grant of the proceeds of tolls (śulka) in kārṣāpaṇas levied outside Pērūr to the temple of Arhat situated at Uranūr*[138]. Śulka [later sunka] signifies tolls, customs duties or octroi duties. The Arthaśāstra explains it as duties levied on articles imported into a city*[139]. It is this meaning which applies to the Noṇamaṅgaḷa Plates which probably refer to Pērūr in Koṅgudēśa which was an important trade centre in the early historic period*[140]. Although śulka is not mentioned in the Bīrūr copper plates of Viṣṇuvarma Kadamba, the description of Vaijayanti (Banavāsi) as adorned with eighteen maṇḍapikas indicates that śulka was levied on incoming goods in this city as well*[141].

While Pērūr and Banavāsi were urban survivals from the early historic era, the Agara inscription appears to relate to an emergent rural market centre. This eighth century epigraph records a temporary exemption from tolls on headloads (tale pore) to the twenty by a Mane-oḍeya of Queen Vinettinimmaḍi, for the duration of a festival*[142]. The reference

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*137. Supra, Chapter III, Section B, p144ff, fn 231-242

*138. K.V. Ramesh, op. cit., No.12.

*139. D.C. Sircar, I.E.G., q.v. śulka, sunka

*140. Supra, Chapter III, Section - A, p. 111

*141. Supra, Chapter II, Section E-III, p.90 , fn 560-61

*142. EC IV (new ed) YI 138.

to headloads might imply that the tolls were levied at a nearest market centre to which peasants carried their produce for sale. The Twenty was probably the local corporate group which won this concession from the local ruler, Queen Vinettininimaḍi. The area (Yelandūr taluk, Mysore district) was evidently included in the Gaṅga domains at this time[*143]. A similar context of a local market centre also manifests itself in the Chittavaḷḷi inscription [Chikmagaḷūr district] of c. A.D. 1025 which records the grant of tolls of the ūr (ūrsuṅkavan) together with imports on clarified butter to the Jīvitēśvara temple at Chittavaḷḷi[*144]. In at least two instances we have rulers granting proceeds from revenue to religious institutions, while in another the local ruler granted a temporary exemption to a local corporate body. Such grants indicate the feudalization of trade and commerce, a common feature in other parts of the country as well[*145].

We have references to an array of taxes on land. Most of them appear to have been levied by local rulers and in some cases we have evidence of further farming out of the tax to a subordinate. The eighth century Kuppepāḷya inscription [Māgadi taluk, Bangalore district] records that Śivamāra Eṟeyappōr, the son of Śrīpuruṣa and the ruler of Kuṇungil nāḍu extended the right of cultivation (kārāṇme) to all the inhabitants of Bisigūr ['ūr bāḷva prajegaḷge'] in a mandatory order (kaṭṭāṇe).[*146] Kārāṇmai occurs in Tamil inscriptions in the meaning of the right of ploughing and of a tax collected from those holding such a right[*147]. It is possible that this is the meaning of kārāṇme in this record. In that case it would imply that the right of ploughing was limited to the tenants-in-chief. At all events if the right of cultivation was the basis of taxation, the extension of the right to all inhabitants would suggest that the local ruler was attempting to raise taxes by extending a taxable

*143. The Gaṅgas and other ruling lineages controlled their dominions by parcelling them out among members of the royal family, supra, chapter IV, Section A & B (II)

*144. EC VI (Old ed) Cm 95.

*145. R.S. Sharma, Indian Feudalism, 2nd ed. Delhi (1980), pp. 102-103.

*146. K.V. Ramesh, op.cit., No. 68; p. 249, fn. 3 for an explanation of 'kaṭṭāṇe'.

*147. Ibid., p. 250, fn. 1.

right. In the period of Cola domination in Southern Karnataka, kārāṇmai was the principal tax as attested by an inscription of A.D. 1022-23 from Kōlār*[148]. This registers the grant of Paśaipāl in Kuvaḷāla nāḍu to the goddess Piḍāriyar at Kuvaḷāla (Kōlār). The income from this village is computed very precisely in cash and kind. While this would indicate central management of the assessment under the Cōḷas, the grant of revenue to a temple would show that even the Cōḷas resorted to tax-farming to some extent.

Siddhāya was another levy on agriculture in the early medieval period. It was raised by the local ruler within his own domains and frequently further given away to private individuals. Thus the ninth century Koturu inscription [Virājpēṭ taluk, Coorg district) records the grant of 70 gadyāṇas of gold and a hundred measures of dehusked paddy ('beḷtiya bhatta') of siddhāya as kalnāḍ to a gāvuṇḍa*[149]. The donor was the Gaṅga king. Likewise, the Hebbāni inscription [Mūḷbāgāl taluk, Kōlār district) of c..A.D. 1000*[150] of the reign of Rājarāja Cōḷa records the grant of the siddhāya of Perbenna which amounted to ten gadyāṇas of gold and 26 units of paddy (bhatta) to Kādiyaṇṇa of Hebbāni for repairing the big tank of Perbenna. The donor was Nōḷambādhirāja, a subordinate of Rājarāja and the local ruler. The third reference to siddhāya comes from the Muttatti inscription (T. Narsipur taluk, Mysore district) of the close of the ninth century*[151] which records the grant of Muttatti to Nāgakumārayya. The grant is specifically stated to consist of five gadyāṇas as siddhāya, one gadyāṇa for puṭṭigōja, and three guḷagas as vallagoḷaga and kuṟudere. The inscription being fragmentary we cannot discern clearly who the donor was. But it is likely to be Valabhīpuravarēśvara who is mentioned in the prelude. Siddhāya has been explained by the I.E.G. as fixed or regular income probably from agriculture. It is also explained as a tax*[152]. But it would qualify better as rent received by the landlord from his tenants. The rate of siddhāya however, is not specified in any record.

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*148. EC X (Old ed) Kl: 112 (a)

*149. EC I (new ed) No. 97.

*150. EC X (old ed) Mb 208

*151. EC V. (new ed) TN 39.

*152. D.C. Sircar, I.E.G., q. v. siddhāya

This difficulty does not arise with two other taxes named pattondi (one-tenth) and aydondi (one-fifth). One of the earliest references to pattondi comes from the eighth century Hemmige inscription [T. Narsipur taluk][*153] which records its remission for two generations for all the inhabitants of Pemoge (probably the same as Hemmige) by Konguṇi at the request of his queen (Mahādēvi). The Hemmige inscription does not indicate whether pattondi was levied on agricultural produce only or on merchandise as well. But the Vijayapura inscription of Śivamāra II (T. Narsipur taluk) records that pattondi was remitted on land and gold (Poṇpula) in favour of the Twelve of Kiṟupēli probably by Peḍedi of Kolattūr who was ruling Kiṟupēḷnagara[*154]. This would indicate that pattondi was levied on all kinds of income, agricultural or otherwise.

Pattondi also signified the rate of tax on land in some cases. Thus the Rāmpura inscription of A.D. 905 (Shrīraṅgapaṭṭaṇa taluk, Maṇḍya district) specifies the rate of tax payable by the cultivators of land irrigated by a dam as pattondi for the first year, ēḷaḷavi (one-seventh) for the second year and aydaḷavi (one-fifth) for the third year and thereafter[*155]. These taxes were to be appropriated by Kēśiga who constructed the dam. However, the usual connotation of the term is a tax on land. Thus the Mēḷāgani inscription of the close of the ninth century records the remission of pattondi tax on the land below Pālakōḍu tank probably by Pergaḍe gauḍa Śrī Pūli who was ruling Agaḷi-12[*156].

The Tāyalūru inscription retains as we have seen earlier[*157] the pattondi tax on thirty gaṇḍugas out of the thirty-five which were granted to Kaccāvara Poḷalaśeṭṭi for

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*153. EC V (new ed) TN 253.

*154. EC V (new ed) TN 145.

*155. EC VI (new ed) Sr. 85.

*156. ASMAR 1926, No. 100, pp. 87-88

*157. Supra p 287, fn.126.

constructing a tank at Kadarūr. The grant had been made by the gāvuṇḍas and okkal who clearly did not have the right to remit payment of pattondi. Exemptions from payment were made only by the feudal lords who appear also to have levied it. Aydondi was probably similar in character. Apart from the Melagani inscription, aydondi is mentioned in the Vijayapura inscription (T. Narsipur Taluk) of the ninth century*[158] which registers the grant of 25 gaṇḍugas of land (bīlmaṇṇu) without payment of aydondi tax by brāhmaṇas. The donor was Arasaṇṇa (the king's elder brother?) Evidently this was a brahmadēya grant by the local lord.

Maṇṇadeṟe, literally land tax, is mentioned in the eighth century Basavaṭṭi inscription [Chāmarājanagar taluk Mysore district]*[159]. The proceeds of the tax together with the tax on shepherds (Kuṟimbadeṟe) were donated to Kuṟimba gāvuṇḍa. This inscription thus brings out not only the process of sub-infeudation but also the sedentanization of the shepherd community and the growth of stratification among them.

The Mankunda inscription (Channapaṭna taluk, Bangalore district) of A.D. 913 indicates that corporate bodies of villages could be vested with rights of tax-collection over another settlement. This records the grant of the proceeds of karudeṟe and aḍḍadeṟe of Mankunda by Kūḍalūr and Bhodariyūr to an unknown donee*[160]. This is reminiscent of the grant of bittuvaṭṭa of Vijayādityamaṅgaḷa together with two neighbouring villages to the Mahājanas of Kayvāra to ensure the maintenance of the tank at Vijayādityamandgaḷa*[161]. The Mankunda inscription, however does not reveal how Kūḍalūr and Bhodariyūr came to be vested with rights of tax collection over Mankunda. But the further alienation of revenue is noteworthy.

*158. EC V (new ed) TN 145.

*159. EC IV (new ed) Ch. 126, also Supra, Chapter II, Section D and Chapter IV, Section D.

*160. EC IX (old ed) Cp 161.

*161. EC X (old ed.) Bp 4.

Bhāga which originally signified the king's share of the product but later came to denote tax in general*[162] finds mention in several inscriptions. However, in most cases it is unclear whether it denoted a tax or merely a share in the produce or property. Thus the Sorab copper plates of Vinayāditya Cāḷukya record a supplementary grant of Sālivoge grama's bhāga by Basanta Kumāra, the son-in-law or nephew (aliya) of Āneśeṭi of Banavāsi to Dēveṟe*[163]. It is not clear whether this denoted a part of the village or proceeds of bhāga, the tax. In either case we do not know whence Basanta Kumāra derived his authority to make such a grant. The second reference to bhāga comes from the Hecche vīrgal of A.D. 991(Sōrāb taluk, Shimoga district). This records the grant of an equal part (bhāga) of gold and baḷdu (rice porridge?) from Gedeya together with the abhyantara-siddhi-ālke of Gedeya-12 to Jōgayya, the grandson of Eṟehayya of Sīballi, the Nālgāvuṇḍa of Gedeya-12*[164]. Here bhāga appears to relate to the mode of collecting dues rather than the tax per se. The Uttarāṇihaḷḷi inscription of A.D. 1012 (Shikārpur taluk, Shimoga district)*[165] which records the establishment of a liṅga by Koṇḍēsara Būtagōsi gāvuṇḍa of Uttarāṇi and the grant of one mattal of land for the deity stipulates that the donor received three shares (mūbhāga) while Koṇḍēsara Jōgayya (his brother or son?) received one share. Here bhāga clearly relates to shares of the produce of the granted land and not to the tax bhāga. At all events, it is noteworthy that the donors retained a stake in the granted land. The Ārūr inscription [Chintāmaṇi taluk, Kōlār district] of A.D. 950*[166] states that Pallavāditya Iḷēva Nōḷamba granted pannāsu bhāga (50%?) from five goḷas of land to Kaṇḍayyāyta who was apparently a solider attached to the king. While it is not clear whether the grant was of half the total produce of the land in question or of revenue from it, we have here, a feudal lord bestowing rights over land or revenue to his retainer.

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*162. D.C. Sircar, I.E.G., q.v. bhāga

*163. EC VIII (old ed) Sb 571

*164. EC VIII (old ed) Sb 477.

*165. EC VII (old ed) Sk 71

*166. EC X (old ed) Ct. 50

Apart from these taxes on land we have references to an array of minor or occasional dues. One such minor tax was kirudere, literally small tax, which finds mention in several epigraphs. Thus the Belaguli virgal which registers the grant of Belgali grāma as abhyantara-siddhi to the son and successors of Ankada Ketayya, specifically states that the village was not to be entered by the Nādabōva and Nālgāvunda for the collection of kirudere and attadere*[167]. A mid-tenth century record from Āvani (Mulbagal taluk, Kolar district) registers the remission of twelve minor taxes (kirudere) on the sthāna of Avanya in favour of the deity Mahādēva by Dilīpayya Nolamba*[168]. This would indicate that kirudere was not one tax but a bundle of minor or occasional dues levied by a sovereign ruler and collected by Nādabōvas and Nālgāmundas. Like other sources of revenue, however, it too was undergoing the process of sub-infeudation. This impression is strengthened by the Koligere inscription (Maddūr taluk, Mandya district) of A.D. 916-17*[169] which registers the gift of the proceeds of attadere, kurudere and sāmantadere from Tippeyūr to a basadi. The grant was made in the king's presence ('arasara adhyaksadol') evidently with his consent. Kurudere was possibly an orthographic error for kirudere. The nature and incidence of attadere cannot be discerned but since it is coupled with kirudere in two cases its levying authority was probably the same, i.e. a sovereign within his personal domain.

Sāmantadere literally means tax (tere) on the samantas and might imply either tribute paid by the sāmantas or the tax paid by the tenants to the feudatory of the sovereign who held authority in a particular area. While sāmantadere might imply tribute it is noteworthy that literary works prefer the term kappa for tribute. Thus in the Vaddārādhane, Dhātrivāhana sends messengers to Gurudatta demanding tribute (kappa) and the return of a fugitive carpenter (badagi)*[170]. Similarly, in the Pampa Bhārata, Arjuna is said to have extracted tribute (kappa) from Kubēra*[171]. In view of this the second suggested meaning of

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*167. EC VIII (new ed) Ag. 41 of the tenth century.

*168. EC X (old ed) Mb 51.

*169. EC VII (new ed) Mu 100.

*170. Vaddārādhane op. cit., p. 191.

*171. Pampa Bhārata, VI. 32 vacana

sāmantadere might apply to the Kōligere inscription. The further grant of this tax to the basadi would suggest that the basadi was now given the status of a sāmanta.

A multitude of taxes are mentioned in the Krishṇāpura inscription (Yelandūr taluk, Mysore district) of the early tenth century. This epigraph records the grant of land as kalnāḍ with the right of abhyantara-siddhi. The granted land is specifically stated to be free from taxes such as paḍevaḷa-gāma-gadyāṇa, kōmāragadyāṇa, permāḍi-..itunayavaratere, peggeḍegāṅke, nālchāvirapugilu, masivuttige and mattadere.[*172] Of these, kōmāragadyāṇa has been explained by the I.E.G. as the tax of one gadyāṇa levied on the birth of a prince[*173]. This was apparently an occasional levy by the Gaṅga, the donor in this case, within his own estate. The other terms have been left unexplained. However, paḍevaḷa-gāma-gadyāṇa might signify either a tax paid for the general (paḍevaḷa)[*174] or by him from the village (gāma) held as fief. Peggeḍegāṅke might have been a tax for Pergaḍes. Paḍevaḷas and Pergaḍes were included among the feudatories in this period. But since the area in question fell within the royal domain of the Gaṅgas, we can argue that the overlord draw resources to support his personal bureaucratic and military retinue by levying these taxes. Nālchāvirapugilu was possibly an entry tax levied by the Four Thousand, a local corporate group. The meaning and significance of the other taxes cannot be guessed. The Krishṇāpura inscription clearly shows at all events, the heavy burden of taxes placed on the peasants. While the donee did not have, in future, to pay these dues to the overlord there was nothing to prevent his collecting them from the cultivating tenant.

The Sosale inscription of the end of the eigth century (T. Narsipur taluk, Mysore district) indicates that local rulers could collect taxes to support their military retinue. The inscription records the appropriation by Vikramādityarasa of one pon (a gold coin) during harvest (suggiyuḷ) out of the bhaṭamānya of the palace soldiers ('aramaneya bhaṭamānya')[*175]. Apart from this, the eighth century Varuṇa inscription (Mysore taluk,

*172. EC IV (new ed) Yl. 183.

*173. D.C. Sircar, I.E.G., q.v. kōmāragadyāṇa

*174. F. Kittel, A Kannaḍa-English Dictionary, q.v. paḍevaḷa.

*175. EC V (new ed) TN 120.

district) suggests that the army on the march was to be fed by the general populace. The details are unclear but the army was probably to be fed one day while going and one day while coming back by the people of an ūr whose name is now lost*[176].

Apart from these varied taxes and the requirement to feed the army and touring officials, we also have evidence of the impressment of bullocks. The first reference comes from the eighth century Agara inscription which registers the exemption from impressment of bullocks (eṭṭukōḷ) for one month during the festival (parbadoḷ) to the Forty of Amasu and the Twenty. In addition, exemption from forced labour (viṭṭa?) was granted to the Forty for the same period*[177]. Evidently peasants were required to lend their bullocks at the will of the local ruler for the rest of the year. An indirect reference to this practice comes from the seventh century Kigga inscription (Koppa taluk, Chikmagaḷūr district)*[178]. This records the grant of tax (vari) in the form of paddy, milk and bullocks, for the god Kīḷgāṇēśvara. The inscription specifically states that it was to be enjoyed by the god's servants which included the devaḍittiyēr (female servants of the deity)*[179]. This would indicate that the impressment and use of bullocks was regularly appropriated by the state. When transferred to a temple, a brāhmaṇa or a secular assignee it enabled them to exploit this practice for forced labour on their own lands. A similar grant of bullocks comes from the eleventh century Chittavaḷḷi inscription (Chikmagaḷūr taluk, district), which records that three bullocks from Nēreḷe were given to the temple of Jīvitēśvara constructed by Jimūtavāhana Sēnāvara*[180].

References to viṣṭi cover a longer timespan. The Hiṭṭinahebbāgilu plates of Vijayaśiva Mṛgēśavarman Kadamba records the grant of Kirunirilli grāma to Śarvasvāmi of

*176. Ibid., My 183, ll.15-18.

*177. EC IV (new ed) Yl 138.

*178. EC VI (old ed) Kp. 37.

*179. S. Settar, Personal Communication

*180. EC VI (old ed) Cm. 95 of c.AD 1025.

Aupagahani gōtra, - along with daksinā and the right of antaskara vistikam[*181]. i.e. the right to levy internal taxes and forced labour[*182 a]. Thus the donee could now use forced labour for his own purposes. Similarly, the fifth century Birūr plates of Visnuvarma Kadamba (Kadūr taluk, Chikmagalūr district) record the grant of a village and a hundred nivarttanas of land to 85 brāhmanas along with daksinā and the right of visti[*183]. While these early copper plates record brahmadēya grants, later references to visti occur in the context of dēvadāna grants. Thus the Kyātanahalli inscription of the close of the ninth century records the grant of forced labour (bitti) for the Kella basadi constructed by Cāgi Permānadi by Ereyapparasa II and Rācamalla II[*184]. Similarly, the Kumasigrāma inscription (Shimoga taluk) of c. AD 950 which records the construction of a Jinagēha includes details of grants made to it by several gaudas and śettis[*185]. Here we have a reference to bitti but since the inscription is fragmentary at this point it is not quite clear who had made this grant. If it was the gaudas it would imply that the local landholding elite enjoyed the right to order forced labour and could transfer the right at will.

Apart from the right of levying forced labour which was conferred on the donees we also have evidence that the peasants tilling the soil were tied to the land. This is brought out by the Mysore copper plates of the early eleventh century[*186], which record the grant of a kalnād consisting of Kadekola and Bermāve to Kuladhāri. The inscription goes on to record his death at the house of his son Dharimuttara, who fled for some unknown reason. Thereupon, the gāvundas and besamakkal were freed (bidisidam). Besamakkal has been explained as bond-servants by Nandi. He draws an interesting contrast between the terms bandugiyar, toltu and besamaga. The two former in his opinion were bonded field

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*181. EC IV (new ed) Pp 149 of the fifth century.

*182. D.C. Sircar, I.E.G., q.v. antahkara, visti.

*183. EC VI (old ed) Kd 162.

*184. EC VI (new ed) Ppu 16.

*185. EC VII (old ed) Sh 114.

*186. EC V (new ed) My 102.

labourers, while besamaga which mostly appears in the context of attacks on agrahāras probably denoted members of the rural militia*[187]. In the present inscription, however, the bracketing of the besamakkaḷ with the gāvuṇḍas might suggest that they were field labourers. It would appear that the death of the assignee and the disappearance of his heir released the gāvuṇḍas and besamakkaḷ from the ties that bound them to their lord. Interestingly the witnesses to this record were individuals of diverse occupations such as Maṇṇiga (earthworker or potter?), Poṅgulan (goldsmith), Koḍaliyan (woodcutter), and Kammaṟa (ironsmith). A similar range of occupational specialists acted as witnesses to the tying of the patta of Goggiyācāri on the son of Būvācāri in the Haḷe Bōgaḍi record of the same period*[188]. The list included a Tuṟuvāla (cowherd), a Nāvida (barber), a Kammaṟa (ironsmith) an Asaga (washerman), an Ōja (a smith) and a Holeya (outcaste) Would this imply that the act of reducing either a peasant or an artisan to bondage requied the validation of the entire village community represented by members of various castes and occupations?

At all events it would seem that the Okkal, the cultivating tenants, were a vital productive resource for the landlords without whom the possession of land became meaningless. This is brought out by imprecations in several Mysore district inscriptions which stated that the Okkal of the individual violating the grant would perish*[189].

Thus grants of land made to brāhmaṇas, temples and secular assignees made them virtually autonomous with rights to levy taxes, forced labour and impress bullocks. Like Rāṣṭrakūṭa epigraphs*[190] inscriptions of the second phase from Southern Karnāṭaka clearly specify the taxes which were transferred to the donee. In some cases even the amounts to

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*187. R.N. Nandi, "Growth of Rural Economy in Early Feudal India", in P.I.H.C., Presidential Address, Ancient Indian section, (Annamalai Nagar, 1984), p. 42.

*188. EC V (new ed) My 221.

*189. EC III (new ed) Hg 63 and 156; EC V (new ed) TN 307, 145; My 183 have imprecations such as 'Okkal Koripoguge" and "Okkal Kulanāśa".

*190 . R.S. Sharma, Indian Feudalism, 2nd ed., (1980), pp.100-101.

be collected are clearly mentioned. This would limit the scope enjoyed by the donee to increase the amount to be collected. Indeed the Māgūḍilu inscription (Heggaḍedēvanakōṭe taluk, Mysore district) of the eighth century states that taxes and produce of the land were to be collected at the prevailing rates ('andina teṟeë andina keyvesane')*[191] . This might have been an attempt to protect the interests of the tenant by the state. However it is a moot point whether the state could indeed check excesses by the donee once the grant was made. The Devarahaḷḷi inscription (Guṇḍlupēṭ taluk Mysore district) suggests that the sanction employed by the state to protect the tenants' interests may have been purely ideological. It includes an imprecation stating that the person who took the land away from the tenants, enjoyed it and fought for it would lose his eyes and arms*[192] . This could have been a threat of punishment as well. But the fact that it is coupled with the standard imprecation of Pañcamahāpātaka has led us to interpret it as an imprecation.

The position of the tenants may have been mitigated somewhat by corporate groups. We might recollect that the Forty of Amasu and the Twenty won for the cultivators at least a temporary reprieve from forced labour and the impressment of bullocks. The composition of many such groups is unclear. We have seen that they might have comprised of gāvuṇḍa landlords in many cases*[193] . Inscriptions from Coorg mention the Eṇṭokkaḷ*[194] which clearly was a body of cultivators. K.V. Ramesh interprets Okkalu preceded by a number as the permanent resident families of a locality having inalienable landholdings there*[195] . That this body's consent to grants is required together with the Aysāmantas and the Seventy (Ēḷpadimbar) indicates that such bodies could wield some influence.

In literary works the term okkal is used to denote not merely the cultiavating tenants of a landlord but the military retainers as well. This is brought out by the

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*191. EC III (new ed) Hg 156.

*192. Ibid, Gu 207 of the eighth century.

*193. Supra, Chapter IV, Section D, p218, fn.297-299.

*194. EC I, (new ed) No. 96, 98.

*195. K.V. Ramesh, op. cit., p. 326, fn3.

Cāvuṇḍarāyapurāṇa where the daughter of Damitāriśakti takes the veil out of grief at the death of her family and Okkal, after the destruction of their army at the hands of Aparājita and Anantavīrya*[196]. Since the work mentions only the destruction of the army and not laying waste the countryside, it would appear that Okkal refers here to the military retainers and not tenants. The analytic inseparability of the cultivating tenants and vassals owing military service in Kannaḍa literary works of the tenth century, is further brought out by the Pampa Bhārata in two contexts. In one, Pampa states that rulers, villagers and clans (kula) accepting the suzerainty of the Pāṇḍavas offered all their wealth ('sāra dhana') and accepted the performance of the three forms of forced labour (mūviṭṭigam)*[197]. In another context, after the period of exile infractious Mālepas (hill chieftains), Maṇḍalikas and heroes (vīrarkal) are said to have offered their living and their heads (bāldaḷe) and and any object desired by the Pāṇḍavas and agreed to perform the three forms of forced labour like any tenant ('Okkala vōlim')*[198]. Mūviṭṭigam (threefold forced labour) has been explained by D.L. Narasimhachar by reference to the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya as

i) śōdhanakarma i.e. repair and maintenance of roads, bridges, wells, etc.,

ii) vahanakarama, i.e. transport of weapons, grains, tools, etc., and

iii) apanayana karma, i.e., to hand over wounded and dead soldiers together with their weapons and armour*[199].

These were duties to be performed by defeated kings. When applied to tenants, the third form of labour might have been agricultural.

Assuming that this definition of viṣṭi applies to our period also it is note worthy that it is presumed to be more appropriate for the Okkal. But that vassals too are stated to have accepted this obligation would imply that they were recognized merely as a specialised category of tenants. In the first context moreover, the groups submitting and accepting the obligation of mūviṭṭi were villagers, clans and petty rulers (rājaka). This perhaps reflects the

*196. B.S. Kulkarni (ed), Cāvuṇḍarāyapurāṇam, Dharwad, (1975), p.201.

*197. Pampa Bhārata VI. 30

*198. Ibid., IX. 10.

*199. D.L. Narasimhachar, Pampa Bhārata Dīpike, Mysore, (1976), p. 224 quoting Arthaśāstra 10-4.

pervasiveness at the lowest levels of the socio-political hierarchy of the corporate peasant order of petty rulers (arasas) of local origins and of ruling lineages. In contrast to these groups, Māḷepas, Maṇḍalikas and heroes (vīrarkal) offered their heads and their living (bāḻdale) more befitting their station. The reference to their head perhaps implies the obligation of military service accepted by them.

Literary works deal at length with the duties and obligations of the vassal to his lord. "A servant (bhṛtya) should sacrifice wealth and life for his master and fight without expecting aid and without fear. If he can he should fight to win; if not he should put his best effort and die fighting. Such is the duty of a servant (āḷ, bhṛtya). If he should slip away from the field without doing either his honour would be tarnished". Thus does Ranna's Duryōdhana define the duties of the subordinate to the lord who nourished him*[200]. The obligation of the vassal is termed jōḷadapāḻi, the debt of subsistence. Karṇa refuses to join the Pāṇḍavas at Kunti's behest saying that by doing so he would default on his debt to Duryōdhana and tarnish his fame*[201]. Duryōdhana likewise, chides Bhīṣma for only recollecting his kinship to and affection for the Pāṇḍavas and requests him to remember his debt of subsistence to the Kauravas*[202] ("jōḷada pāḻiyamaninisu bageyim nimmoḷ"). In the Gadāyuddham, Duryōdhana rails against Drōṇa and Aśvatthāma for disregarding their debt to him*[203]. In Ponna's Śānti Purāṇam the vassals of Damitāri resolve to fight Aparājita and Anantavīrya who had abducted princess Kanakaśrī in order to discharge their debt to their lord*[204]. While inscriptions conspicuously omit mention of the term jōḷapāḻi the vassals' obligation to fight at their master's command is brought out clearly enough. We have already cited several instances of subordinates marching to battle at the command of their lord (ere vesadoḷ)*[205].

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*200. Gadāyuddham II. 21, 22.

*201. Pampa Bhārata IX. 84.

*202. Ibid XI. 15

*203. Gadāyuddham II. 11.

*204. Ponna's Śānti Purāṇam, III 67-71.

*205. Chapter IV, Section E-II.

Vēlevālis, on the other hand are mentioned in inscriptions but do not receive much attention in literary works.Among the few references in literature we have the Vaddāradhane which mentions fierce warriors under the oath of vele ("Vęlegondirdatyugra bhaṭarkal") among the mainstays of a ruler*[206]. Vēlevālis were expected to fight for their master during his lifetime and we have several epigraphic references to vēlevālis dying in battle*[207]. In this respect they are indistinguishable from other retainers (āl) of a monarch. What set them apart was their following their lord or lady in death whether they did so by offering their head as Akaṭega*[208] or Erekalinga*[209] did or by entering fire as Bēdante Rāceya*[210] and Bābiyamma*[211] did or by becoming kilgunthe like Manemaga Agarayya*[212].

The institution of vēlevāli points to the close bonds between the warrior and the ruler and his consort. Some kind of contract seems to be implied. M. Chidanandamurthy draws our attention to a twelfth century vīrgal which records the death of Boppaṇa, the vēle of Mahāmandalēśvara Sōvidēva's consort, Laccaladēvī, in accordance with the promise given earlier. The illustrations on the panel show Laccaladēvī presenting a cloth to Boppaṇa, which he accepts with obvious devotion. This, in his opinion portrays the ceremony is which Boppaṇa took oath as a vēlevadica in return for which he received due honour from his patroness*[213]. Whether such a ceremony existed prior to this is unknown

*206. D.L. Narasimhachar (ed) Vaddāradhane, Mysore 1986, (7th Reprint)., p. 187

*207. EC XVI (rev.ed) Tm 95, EC V. (new ed), My 173, 174, 178.

*208. EC VIII (old ed) Sb 479

*209. EC VI (new ed) Ppu 253

*210. EC VIII (new ed) Ag 24.

*211. Ibid, Ag 26.

*212. EC V (new ed) TN 257. Kilgunthe meant supporting a king's corpse from below whether on the pyre or in the grave. M. Chidanandamurthy, Kannada Śāsanagala Sāṁskṛtika Adhyayana (in Kannaḍa) Mysore 1979, p 312-313.

*213. Ibid., p. 307-308.

but not unlikely. Vēlevālis were also known as mane-maga (son of the house). This, it has been suggested corresponded to kulaputra mentioned in the Harṣacarita*[214]. The term once again, highlights the close bond existing between the retainer and his lord. The vēlevaḍica evidently looked upon the lord as his father and identified himself completely with his interests.

The vēle oath implied that the individual accepting it would have to commit suicide on the death of the person for whom it was undertaken. For most part it was warriors who undertook this vow. But occasionally kinsmen could take the vēle vow for their loved ones as Yudhiṣṭhira did for his brothers in the Pampa Bhārata*[215] or Koṇḍabbe for her father, Nāgattara*[216]. The ceremony of oath-taking had elements of contract with the vēlevaḍica offering his life in the interests of his lord or lady and in return receiving subsistence and the status of the son-of-the-house.

In general, vīrgals represent a recognition of the fulfilment of contractual obligations by the subordinate in responding to the chief's summons for armed service and by the overlord in extending protection and reward to the families of warriors. Nandi opines*[217] that the contract was symbolized by the tying of a badge of honour (paṭṭaṁgaṭṭi) on the forehead of the subordinate by the lord superior in the case of low-ranking fief-holders. In the case of high-ranking officers and commanders the contract was symbolized by the gifts of estate honour and symbols of feudal authority like the pañcamahāśabda (five musical instruments) parasol, throne, gateways, horses, servants and an agricultural tract commensurate with the status of the enfiefed lord.

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*214. Ibid., S. Settar and M.M. Kalaburgi "The Hero-cult; A study of Kannada literature from the 9th to the 13th centuries" in S.Settar and G.D. Sontheimer (ed) Memorial Stones, Dharwar (1982), p. 32.

*215. Pampa Bhārata XIII. 15

*216. EC IX (old ed) Bn 88.

*217. R.N. Nandi, Growth of Rural Economy in Early Feudal India", in P.I.H.C. Presidential Address,). Ancient Indian Section, (Annamalai Nagar, 1984), p. 27.

In literary sources the pattabandha ceremony is associated with the conferment of the supreme command of the army[*218]. The element of contract is most clearly brought out in the consecration of Karna as the commander-in-chief in the Pampa Bhārata wherein Duryōdhana requested him to defeat the enemy and protect his sovereignty while Karṇa re-asserted his subordination[*219]. Duryōdhana then tied the chaplet with his own hands, blessed him ('sēseyanikki') and conferred on him much gold ('padineṇṭu kōṭi ponnumam'), some of his own ornaments and jewel-bedecked elephants. Karṇa in turn bestowed this gold on those desiring it and significantly apparels his captains (nāyakar)[*220].

The gifts thus conferred by Duryōdhana on Karṇa and by Karṇa on his captains were made in expectation of future service. Kalnāḍ grants recorded in vīrgals, however, were made in appreciation of past service as a reward. Unlike in Europe where the fief was an economic grant of land conditional on the performance of military duties,[*221] our evidence indicates that here the grant was made subsequent to the performance of military service to the overlord as a reward and the grant was in the majority of cases, made in perpetuity[*222]

In many cases inscriptions do not record the performance of service prior to the grant. Thus the eighth century Aralukote inscription records that Veḍḍipenimane begged and got himself anointed ('paṭṭaṁgaṭṭi koṭṭudu') and received a grant of land in perpetuity[*223]. We are not told about the services rendered by him prior to the anointment nor are the duties owed by him as a consequence of his anointment specified. Similarly the

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*218. Pampa Bhārata X. 25, 33-34, vacana

*219. Ibid XII. 57 vacana

*220. Ibid XII. 52 vacana

*221. Perry Anderson, Lineages of the Absolutist state, op.cit p. 208.

*222. Supra, Chapter IV, Section E.

*223. K.V. Ramesh, op. cit., No. 54.

Mugalavalli inscription includes a supplementary grant of land (mannu) to the son of Rāma gāvunda together with the tying of the patta[*224]. It is possible that Rāma gāvunda's son was being rewarded for his father's role in the battle of Kalikatti for which Mādivarma was lauded in the same record but the epigraph does not state so specifically. The Vartur inscription (Bangalore taluk) also records a supplementary grant of land to a nāyaka[*225]. Here there is no mention of a pattabandha ceremony and we have no clue as to why this grant was made. It was probably a service assignment but the conditions are not stated in the document.

In the case of higher-ranking feudatories pattabandha implied coronation by the overlord following defeat in battle as in the case of Śivamāra II[*226] or voluntary submission as in the case of Mārasimha II[*227]. Such subordination carried with it obligations of service which are more clearly brought out in literary sources[*228] than in inscriptions.

Thus the picture which emerges is of a complex political structure held together by obligations of military service and grants of land. The feudal lord held land over which he appears to have had autonomous control, extracting rent, tax and unpaid labour from the peasants. His relations with his superiors appears to have depended on the existing balance of power and the commonalty of interests between the overlord and vassal. If the overlord was powerful or if it suited his interest, the feudal lord served him. If not, he failed even to acknowledge the overlord's suzerainty. We have seen earlier that the Gaṅgas lost large tracts of land in the Eastern division to the Bāṇas and Nolambas who rarely acknowledge their overlorship. Although the feudal ethos demanded dedicated service from the vassal, the nature of the kalnāḍ grant appears to have resulted in growing autonomy of the fief-holder.

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*224. EC VI (old ed) Cm 129.

*225. EC IX (old ed) Bn 40.

*226. Supra, Chapter III, Section C, p 160, fn 325.

*227. Ibid, p 163, fn 353.

*228. Supra, p 301, fn 198.

The lack of an organized bureaucracy appears to be another feature of the state in southern Karnāṭaka. The gāvuṇḍa headmen of villages and nāḍus were responsible for the collection of taxes such as aṭṭaḍere and kiruḍere as we have seen earlier*[229]. They also acted as witnesses to grants and were responsible for demarcation of granted lands. But they 'emerged as a significant section of the landholding elite as fief-holders closely bound to the ruler and bearing his titles. Indeed, the gāvuṇḍu of a nāḍu was frequently granted as a reward for meritorious military service*[230]. Thus the position of the gāvuṇḍas was ambiguous. They were both landlords and representatives of the state with the former being more important for their self-definition.

Pergaḍes were officials who were entrusted with the rule of a village with rights of abhyantara-siddhi. They gradually became a class of feudal lords and were ranked as such. Some Pergades enjoyed a higher rank in the feudatory hierarchy and are said to be endowed with the qualities of a Mahāmātya*[231]. In literary sources pergaḍes continue to be looked upon as royal officials employed either as envoys or as superintendants of the royal household (mane vergaḍe)*[232] or of the harem (rāṇiyavāsada vergaḍe)*[233]. While we have couple of references to Pergaḍes in their function as royal envoys and one in the capacity of mane-vergade the majority of epigraphic references to Pergaḍes stress their character as feudal lords.

Inscriptions from Shimoga, Chikmagaḷūr, Hāssan and Mysore mention Prabhus and Nāḷgāmigas who discharged administrative and military functions such as granting tax

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*229. Supra, p295, fn 167, Chapter IV, Section D.

*230. Supra, Chapter IV, Section E-II, p237, fn. 386-88

*231. Supra,Chapter IV, Section C(I).

*232. Śānti Purāṇam II.22, Vācana

*233. Ibid, II-60.

exemptions and defending the nādu. But primarily they were local notables who were enlisted as wintesses for grants[*234].

Literary sources mention other officials as well who are conspicuous by their absence from the epigraphic corpus. This is the case with the Niyōgis who are listed in the Vaddārādhane as royal officials[*235] likewise the Pampa Bhārata mentions the Niyōgi of the Madiya Bhandāra (jewels) who are apprently responsible for providing the princes princesses and queens with their clothes and jewels[*236]. While the Pampa Bhārata mentions the Mānikya Bhandārada Niyōgi as responsible for the safe-keeping of jewels the Śānti Purāna vests this responsibility with the Kōśādhyaksa[*237].

Other officials were those who officiated in court ceremonies. Principal among these was the Padiyāra[*238] or Dauvārika[*239] who was the door-keeper and informed the king of the arrival of visitors. The Padiyāra is mentioned in the Kadūr epitaph of AD 971 which commemorates the death of Pāmbabbe, the sister of Būtuga II. She was the senior queen (piriyarasi) of Immadi Padiyara Dhōrapayya[*240]. The title of piriyarasi applied to Pāmbabbe would indicate that Dhōrapayya was king (arasa) within his own domain but filled the post of Padiyara in the Gaṅga court. From the standpoint of the Gaṅgas his identity was defined by his court position. This would indicate that officials of the royal court were drawn from the ranks of the feudatories. Similar is the case with the office of the Adapa, the carrier of the betel pouch, which is mentioned in the Ārani inscription (Nāgamaṅgala taluk, Mandya district) of AD 972. The inscribed slab is said to have been

*234. Supra, Chapter IV, Section C-III & IV.

*235. Vaddārādhane op. cit., p. 56.

*236. Pampa Bhārata V-67, vacana

*237. Ponna's Śānti Purānam II. 70 vacana.

*238. Pampa Bhārata IX 29 vacana

*239. Śānti Purānam II 18 vacana

*240. Śānti Purānam II 18 vacana

prepared by Adepada Ādayya[*241]. K.V. Ramesh opines that many Adepavalas are known to have risen to eminent administrative positions[*242]. However, it is more likely the Padiyara the Adepa or Adepavalas were subordinate feudal lords who were reduced to this position in the court of their overlord. Harsacarita mentions defeated kings who were humiliated in the court of Harṣa by being made to carry fans[*243]. Their rise to higher positions may have been due to an increase in power arising from enhanced territorial holidings or loyal service to the overlord.

The Śāsanadore or maintainer of records is referred to in the Kukkanūr plates of Mārasimha II of AD 968[*244]. He was responsible in this case, for the drafting and engraving of the document. This official does not appear to be a feudal lord though the possibility cannot be ruled out.

A state structure lacking an organized bureaucracy which was dependent on corporate militias and levies of feudatories might appear to support the segmentary state hypothesis of Stein. But this model has serious weaknesses. Its proponents stress voluntary submission of the peripheral units and the ritual hegemony of the centre and deny the use of political, administrative and military means of control. Accordingly they have posited "politics of plunder" as the major means of resource acquisition by the centre.

While plunder might have ensured an additional supply of free-flowing resources to the sovereign the numerous inscriptional references to taxes indicate that the state was not devoid of a regular income from its own subject population[*245]. However, as we have seen, the continual process of sub-infeudation led to the growth of autonomous power centres within the state.

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*241. EC VII (new ed) Ng 99

*242. K.V. Ramesh, op. cit., p. 457, fn 1.

*243. Cited by R.S. Sharma, Indian Feudalism, 2nd ed., Delhi (1980), p. 21.

*244. K.V. Ramesh, op. cit., No. 159, ll.229-230

*245. Supra, p289ff; fn. 137 - 176

Like the segmentary state theory the proponents of the integrative polity model do not elaborate on its socio-economic structure beyond a recognition that the period was marked by the spread of agrarian settlements, a gradual growth of urbanism and that the pervasive presence of sāmantas weakened the hold of the state over its revenue base*[246]. In his recent formulation Chattopadhyaya does not rule out a categorization of the early medieval state in India as feudal only disagreeing with the Eurocentric orientation of the Indian Fedualism and its perceived genesis as resulting from the breakdown of the early historical social formation*[247]. The differences between the Indian Fedualism school and that of integrative polity has consequently narrowed down.

## The Cōlas in Southern Karnāṭaka

As mentioned earlier, the Imperial Cōḷas under Rājarāja I had conquered Gangavāḍi by AD 1004*[248]. Their inscriptions attest to the presence of officials such as Iṛai-taṇḍuginra (tax-collector)*[249] officials of the Puravuvari (revenue accounts) such as the Puravuvari-tiṇai-kkaḷattu-kankaṇi, Puravuvari-tinaikkalam-nayagam, vari-tiṇaikkaḷam, Mugavetti, Varipoṭṭagakaṇakku, Variyiliḍu, and Paṭṭōlar*[250] the Nāḍuvagai (officer who made the tax-settlement of the nāḍu)*[251] etc. This would indicate that the Cōḷas extended their bureaucratic organization to cover southern Karnāṭaka as well. Although lands and taxes were often assigned to temples in Gangavāḍi itself, the impression we gain from the

*246. Supra p 270, fn 46-47.

*247. B.D. Chattopadhyaya, "Introduction: The making of Early Medieval India", in Idem, The Making of Early Medieval India, OUP, Delhi, 1994, pp 36-37.

*248. Supra, Chapter III, Section C.

*249. EC X (old ed) Kl 25

*250. Ibid, Kl 111, 112 (a).

*251. EC IX (old ed), Cp 132.

epigraphic record is that they drew resources from southern Karnāṭaka. The bureaucratic control of the Cōḷas over this region is further supported by the fact that Southern Karnāṭaka was brought within the ambit of the territorial reorganization carried out by Rājarāja I and Rājendra I, wherein Gangavāḍi and Nōḷambavāḍi were renamed Muḍigoṇḍaśōḷamaṇḍalam and Nigariliśōḷamaṇḍalam and the new valanāḍu units were introduced here as well[*252]. The process of renaming nadus and settlements was thorough with Talakāḍ renamed as Rājarājapuram,[*253] Taḍimālingi as Jananāthapuram[*254], etc.

However, a closer look at Cōḷa inscriptions in Southern Karnāṭaka indicates that they exercised close control over the emergent nagarams and brahmadēyas established by them. It is in these settlements that Tamil inscriptions recording the presence of the Cōḷa administrative cadre are found[*255]. In ordinary peasant settlements, Cōḷa inscriptions are in Kannaḍa and portray a situation where the gāvuṇḍas continued to hold sway having shifted their allegiance to the Cōḷas and bearing the titles of their new sovereigns[*256].

This does not imply that the Cōḷas derived revenue only from nagarams and brahmadēyas and their dependent settlements. On the contrary as the Kōlār inscriptions from the Saptamātṛka temples indicate[*257], ordinary peasant settlements were also assessed and their revenue collected and apparently remitted to Cōḷamaṇḍalam unless they were granted for some temple in Gangavāḍi itself. The ur and nālgāvuṇḍas were yoked to the new order and were responsible for the collection of taxes from their areas of jurisdiction as

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*252. Vide Appendix I., Nos. 29, 30, 34, 186-188, 201

*253. EC V (new ed) TN 169.

*254. Ibid, TN 233, 229.

*255. Ibid, TN 230, 227, 233, 229; EC IX (old ed) Cp 132, 130, 131, 42 (a), 135, 88, 127, 129, 139 84; EC X (old ed), Mb 123, Kl 106 (b) and (c), (a), Kl 112(a), (f), Kl 111, etc.

*256. EC V (new ed) TN 142; EC III (new ed) Hg 58; EC IX (old ed) Ht 10, EC X (old ed) Mb 208, 256, etc.

*257. EC X (old ed) Kl 106 (b) and (c)

the Sulidēnahalli inscriptions attest[*258]. Apart from gāvundas, feudatories of higher rank such as Apramēya, the lord of Kottamandala[*259], the Kongālvas[*260] and the last Gangas[*261] themselves accepted the overlordship of the Imperial Cōlas and rendered military service to their suzerain[*262].

Thus the Cōlas differ from earlier suzerains such as the Gangas, the Calukyas, the Rāstrakūtas only in possessing a more organized bureaucracy. For the most part they attempted to utilize the existing power hierarchy for their purposes. But they also systematically used brahmadeyas, nagarams and temples to integrate peripheral units to their heartland[*263]. The introduction of Śivabrāhmanas[*264] and Śrīvaisnavas[*265] to Southern Karnātaka was possibly a deliberate device to plant loyal groups of ideologues in the newly conquered territory. Certainly, the Cōlas exercised closer control over Gangavādi than the protagonists of the segmentary state theory suggest.

In sum, the early medieval state in Southern Karnātaka was feudal in nature. It was characterised by a vast class of landed intermediaries, ranging in rank from a mahāsāmantādhipati to the humble dependents of heroes. These landlords extracted surplus in the form of rent, siddhāya and taxes such as kirudere, attadere, sāmantadere, pattondi and aydondi. Numerous other taxes are mentioned in the epigraphic corpus, which would point to the heavy burden placed on the cultivators. These taxes were farmed

*258. EC X (old ed) Kl 25 and 26.

*259. EC V (new ed) TN 200

*260. EC V (old ed) Ag 143

*261. EC VII (new ed) Md 54.

*262. EC V (new ed) TN 220.

*263. R. Champakalakshmi, "Urbanization in South India: The Role of Ideology and Polity, loc. cit., p. 20.

*264. EC X (old ed) Kl 106 (b).

*265. EX V (new ed) TN 22, 227; infra Chapter VI, Section D.

out to subordinates pointing to the process of sub-infeudation. However we do not have any actual examples of eviction of peasants as its consequence. We do have one reference to the settlement of new peasants at Kirupeḷnagara in the ninth century Vijayapura inscription, but this does not appear to be at the expense of the earlier tenants. The tenants (okkal) who were organized in corporate groups in many areas enjoyed inalienable rights over their holdings. They suffered from the imposition of higher graded rights over their lands by the landlords to whom they owed rent and taxes.

In addition to these exactions the peasants were required to feed the army on the march, perform forced labour and lend their bullocks for carting services and perhaps for ploughing the land of the fief-holder. We also have evidence that tenants were bound to the land for the duration of their lords' lives. Their position was made worse by the whittling away of communal rights of pasture in forest and waste lands by their grant to private individuals.

The state attempted to protect the tenants' interests by specifying the taxes to be collected by the beneficiary and even stipulating the amount. But there was little it could do to prevent abuse once the grant was made in perpetuity. The position of tenants was ameliorated to some extent by the influence wielded by corporate groups who often won tax exemptions from the local ruler.

Literary works class cultivating tenants and the vassals owing military service on par. The ethos of the period demanded dedicated service from the military retainers and the vassals to their lord in return for the subsistence received. Such ties were exemplified by the vēḷevaḍicas who bound themselves to commit suicide at the death of their lord or lady. Higher ranking feudatories, however, often reneged on their commitment if the overlord was weak. Power, commonality of interest and ties of blood were as important in holding together the political structure as ties of obedience. This may have been due to the nature of service assignments in our region - a permanent grant made subsequent to service rather than conditional on the performance of service as in Europe. In this as in the absence of a seigneurial system, the social formation of our region differed from the classical West European feudal order.

We have seen earlier that the proponents of the integrative polity do not reject in toto the applicability of the feudal model to early medieval India. Their strength lies in the delineation of the political processes of the early medieval period. But they fail to elaborate on its socio-economic basis. Similarly the segmentary state hypothesis is inapplicable to our region and period, since the Gaṅgas and more emphatically the Cōḷas exercised more than ritual sovereignty over Gaṅgavāḍi. Under the latter, an organized bureaucracy controlled tax assessment and collection even in this peripheral province. Its other major features were parcellized sovereignty and lack of monopoly of force at the centre which is characteristic of the feudal model as well. The feudal social formation thus appears to be best fitted to the evidence at our disposal.

# CHAPTER VI

## RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND PRACTICES

### (A) JAINISM

Jainism was patronized in the early medieval period in Karnāṭaka on a large scale. Rulers like Mādhava II and his son Avinīta made lavish grants to Jaina temples under the influence of their preceptors even in the first phase (A.D. 400 to A.D. 725). The rise in the popularity of Jainism was on account of changes within the sect itself.

By the opening centuries of the Chiristian era, Jainism had begun to develop Puranic forms of worship and numerous Jaina Purāṇas were composed. Even in the early Jaina canonical works such as the Nayadhammakahāo worship of divinities such as Nāgas finds mention. Such worship involved the offering of flowers to the deity*1 . Now we begin to have the worship of the images of Jina enjoined as a pious duty particularly for laymen. Thus Samantabhadra in his Ratnakaraṇḍa Śrāvakācāra includes idol worship*2 among the Sāmāyika Śikṣā Vratas which traditionally comprised of fasting, the gift of food, medicine and protection, the cultivation of equanimity (samatā) and hospitality*3 . Similarly, the Paumacariya of Vimalasūri refers to the worship of images, their installation and the abhiṣēka ritual. The Paramātmaprakāśa of Yogindudeva datable to the sixth century A.D. considers worship with eight articles as essential for liberation. The Padmapurāṇa of Raviṣēṇa of the seventh century AD also exhorts the worship of Jina for both temporal and spiritual benefits. He enjoins arrangements for flowers, incense and lamp in temples. Another seventh century work, the Varāṅgacarita of Jaṭāsimhaṇandi stresses the merit obtained by laymen through the building of temples, setting up images and the conduct of Jina worship*4 . The details of the abhiṣēka

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*1. Cited by F Hardy, Viraha-Bhakti: The early history of Kṛṣṇa devotion in South India, OUP (1983) P, 30.

*2. Cited by R.B.P. Singh, Jainism in Early Medieval Karnataka (c. AD 500-1200), Delhi (1976), pp 23-25.

*3. Ponna's Santi Puranam, I.90

*4. Cited in R.B.P. Singh op.cit. pp. 23-25

ritual are laid down in this work*5 . The morning and evening worship in Jaina temples is also referred to in the Varāṅgacarita.

This advocacy of image worship was probably the result of a desire to popularize the faith. Originally, Jainism had stressed the quest for salvation and enlightenment by means of a difficult regime of ascetic discipline to be followed by monks. This involved the acceptance of the pañcamahāvratas of satya, āsteya, brahmacarya, ahiṁsā and aparigraha to be applied without any exception throughout the remaining span of a monk's life*6 . A path of wandering asceticism was also prescribed for monks. They were expected to seek shelter only during the four months of the rainy season. They could either follow the Jinakalpa tradition of roaming as a solitary ascetic (ekavihāri) engaged in austerities independent of the ecclesiastical community or sthavirakalpa tradition as a member of a monastic group studying scriptures under the supervision of the ācāryas to whom they were expected to be loyal and devoted*7 . The Jinakalpa as the path followed by Mahāvīra himself, was believed to be superior in all sects of Jainism*8 and literature abounds in examples of ascetics engaged in austerities as an ēkavihāri following the rule of staying in a village for one night, in a town for five nights and in the forest for ten ("grāme ēka rātram nagare pañca rātram āṭavyām daśa rātram")*9

Laymen, too, were encouraged to accept the limited minor vows called the aṇuvratas. These were ahimsā, svadārāsantōṣa, truthfulness, restraint on possession and abstention from theft*10 . These aṇuvratas are reduced versions of the monk's mahāvratas. The lay disciples who

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*5. R.N. Nandi, Religious Institutions and Cults in the Deccan (AD 600-1200), Delhi (1973), pp. 34-36

*6. P.S. Jaini, Gender and Salvation: Jaina Debates on the Spiritual Liberation of Women, Delhi (1991) pp. 37-38, fn.9. Perfection of the Pañcamahāvratas is held as an ideal in Ponna's Śānti Purāṇam for instance, IX.III.

*7. P.S. Jaini, Op. cit, pp. 101-102 fn. 35, also Vaḍḍārādhane, op.cit, p. 137.

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*9. D.L. Narashimhachar (ed), Vaḍḍārādhane, op.cit, p.

*10. Vaḍḍārādhane, op.cit pp. 57-66; Ponna's Śānti Purāṇam I.88

accepted them were encouraged to progressively widen the scope of these initial śrāvaka vratas through an eleven-stage path called pratimā which culminated in renunciation*[11].

The advocacy of image worship as a means of acquiring merit both by laymen and monks certainly popularized Jainism and won material support for the faith from the highest echelons of the fedual aristocracy. But it also undermined the ascetic discipline enjoined for both the monks and the laity. The construction of shrines, their endowment, the setting up of images and the institution of rituals became a major focus of attention for the laity. While some of the laity were initiated to vows of ritual death we have hardly any other evidence to show that they undertook to perform penances and austerities in general. In some cases initiation to ritual death seems to have been purely symbolic*[12].

References to the construction and endowment of Jaina shrines may be noted from the fifth century onwards in this region. These Jaina shrines are denoted by the terms caitya*[13], Cēdiya,*[14] Jinālaya,*[15] Jinagēha, etc. In the second phase the term, basadi*[16], the tadbhava form of Vasati meaning a dwelling place*[17] became popular. This was used to denote a Jaina temple with its associated monastery*[18]. This changing terminology itself demonstrates the tendency on the part of monks and nuns to settle down permanently in monasteries. Grants made for the maintenance of the shrines were entrusted to monks and sometimes to nuns as well, which seems paradoxical in view of their vow of aparigraha (non-possession).

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*11. P.S. Jaini op.cit p. 38, fn. 9, 13.

*12. As in the case of Indra IV Rāṣṭrakūṭa and Mahāprabhu Gōvapayya (EC II (new ed) No. 163, EC V (new ed) My.117).

*13. K.V. Ramesh, op. cit, No. 41

*14. EC IV (new ed) Ch 347, ASMAR 1920, pp. 23, 24

*15. EC VII (new ed) Ng 149; EC V (old ed) Ak 209; EC VII (old ed) Sp. 114; EC I (new ed) No.1, 96.

*16. EC III (new ed) Gu 92, Hg 63; EC IV (new ed) Ch 404, 126, etc.

*17. F. Kittel, A Kannaḍa-English Dictionary, q.v. basadi, vasati.

*18. R.N. Nandi, Religious Cults..., loc.cit. p.66.

New monastic groups emerged flouting other traditional rules of mendicant conduct, such as the prohibition on bathing, the use of oil and perfumes, the eating of live gram etc. Rebel Orders such as the Drāviḍa Sangha, the Kāṣṭha and the Lāṭa Bāgāḍ were formed as a result of the transgressing of such rules*[19]. These new groups also began to practice Tantric worship of minor divinites such as Jvālāmālinī and Padmāvatī*[20]. Thus we find that Jainas progressively lost their ascetic vigour of which these developments were symptomatic. Consequently while Jainism won the support of the sub-regional and regional powers such as the Gaṅgas and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas they lost their popular base among the lower-ranking landlords who began to patronize Śaivism in a big way from the tenth century. Jainism was at the zenith of its influence at the close of the tenth century but it was also imperceptibly beginning to decline. Another feature of the early medieval Jaina monastic order was the reduced size of the units such as the gaṇa and gaccha, which consisted on an average of three to four members. This tended to strengthen the personal bonds between the preceptor and the disciples. Loyalty and devotion to the ācāryas, a general future of the sthavirakalpa, became even more pronounced. The guru came to be looked upon as the means of salvation of the disciples and post mortem memorials of the preceptors (niṣidhi) were worshipped. This was a reflection of the feudal ethos of the period. The loyalty and devotion of the disciple to his master had its counterpart in the loyalty and dedication of the servant (āḷ) toward his lord*[21].

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*19. Ibid, p.51

*20. Ibid, p. 154.

*21. Supra, Chapter V, Section B

# I) Patterns of Patronage

## Sovereigns And High Ranking Feudatories

Several early Gaṅga inscriptions record grants of land and villages for Jaina shrines made by these monarchs. The earliest inscription to record such a grant is the Pērūr plates of Simhavarman of the Kaivāra branch. Grants of land were made for the Jaina shrine constructed at Pērūr (Coimbatore district, Tamil Nadu) at the request of the royal cocubine Nandavvā by Simhavarman*22. Evidently this only indicates the faith of Nandavvā, for other extant records of this monarch register brahmadēya grants*23.

The Noṇamaṅgaḷa plates of Mādhava II*24 and of his son Avinīta*25 of the Talakāḍ branch record grants of land and a village for Jaina shrines situated at Pērbōḷal grāma and Uranūr respectively. They were influenced by their preceptors Ācārya Vīradēva and Vijayakīrtti respectively to make the grants. In all these cases the Mūla Saṅgha, the principal Digambara Church of South India was the beneficiary.

The Hosakōṭe plates of Avinīta, however, record grants of land for the Jaina temple established by the mother of Pallavādhirāja Simhaviṣṇu, which was affiliated to the Yavanika Sangha*26. In the opinion of K.V. Ramesh the Yavanika Saṅgha was identical with the Yāpanīya Saṅgha*27.

These inscriptions indicate that the Jainas were well entrenched in the countryside.

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*22. K.V. Ramesh, Op. cit., No. 155

*23. Ibid, No. 7, 156

*24. EC X (old ed) Mr 73

*25. Ibid, Mr. 72

*26. K.V. Ramesh, op. cit, No. 14

*27. Ibid, p. 51, fn. 2

With the exception of the temple established at Pērūr by Nandavvā the remaining temples were situated in villages and received grants of land and whole villages from kings. This controverts Stein's view that Jainas and Buddhists were entrenched in urban centres in the early period which led to the brāhmaṇas seeking the support of, and alliance with peasants*[28].

After Avinīta we do not have much evidence for early Gaṅga patronage of Jainism. Durvinīta appears to have been a staunch supporter of Vedic brāhmaṇism and all the extant records issued in his forty-year reign appear to have been for śrōtrīya brāhmaṇas*[29]. His successors too appear to have followed the same policy.

It is only fom the reign of Śivamāra I that we once again have evidence of patronage extended to Jaina shrines. Thus the Kulagāṇa copper plates register grants of lands, gardens and a house site made by Pallavēḷarasa, the ruler of Koḍagūr, and Oraṁkal and Sīpālvoygar, the joint administrators of Tuppūr for the caitya at Kellipūsūr*[30]. Similarly, the eighth century Narasimharājapura Plates record grants for the caityālaya at Toḷḷa from Nagavarma of the Pasiṇḍi Gaṅga family, his brother-in-law Tuḷuga-aḍi of the Kadamba family and Maṇali Mane-oḍeyōr of Kośika lineage*[31]. Although the places ruled by these personages are not specified they evidently belonged to noted ruling lineages of the region and apparently enjoyed a high rank in the feudatory hierarchy. Another set of copper plates of the reign of Śivamāra II register grants from Viṭṭarasa, the ruler of Sinda nāḍu and Tagare nāḍu and Vijayśakti arasa the uncle (māman) of Śivamāra II for the caitya at Toḷḷa and Mūḷivaḷḷi respectively*[32].

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*28. B. Stein, Peasant State and Society in Medieval South India, OUP, Delhi (1980), p. 83.

*29. K.V. Ramesh, op. cit, Nos. 16-25

*30. EC IV (new ed) Ch. 347.

*31. K.V. Ramesh, op.cit., No. 71

*32. Ibid, Nos. 85 and 86.

While the above records register grants of land for already existing Jaina shrines the Dēvarahaḷḷi copper plates of AD 776 records the construction of a Jinabhavana at the instance of Kundācci the queen of Paramagūḷa Pṛthivi Nirggundarasa of Bāṇa vaṁśa at Śrīpura. At the request of Paramagūla, Śrīpuruṣa granted a village, lands and house sites for the shrine which was named Lōkatilaka*[33]. Likewise, the Maṇṇe plates of Yuvarāja Mārasimha of AD 798*[34] states that his subordinate Sāmanta Sēnādhipati Śrīvijaya who had built many Jaina shrines constructed as auspicious and lofty Jaina temple at Mānyanagara and made grants for its maintenance. The temple is said to have been constructed for Prabhācandra of the Koṇḍakundānvaya.

The Dēvanūru copper plates of Raṇāvalōka Kambhayya dated AD 808 register the grant of Badaṇeguppe village in Punnāḍa Eḍenāḍu viṣaya for the service of the Śrīvijaya Vasati consecrated (pratiṣṭhitāyai) at Taḷavaṇanagara at the request of his son Śaṅkaragaṇṇa*[35]. It is not clear whether the temple was constructed at Śaṅkaragaṇṇa's instance. But at all events this Jaina shrine was patronized by him. Curiously, the Mercara copper plates which are spurious and assignable on palaeographic grounds to the ninth century, also record the grant of Badaṇeguppe village for the same Jaina shrine*[36]. The donor was a minister (mantri) of Akālavarṣa Pṛthivivallabha who had obtained the village by grant from Avinīta Gaṅga. It is possible that the Mercara Plates were forged to legitimize the change of guard at the Śrīvijaya Vasati. While the temple trustee in the Devanūru copper plates was Vardhamāna guru of the Koṇḍakundānvaya and the Śīrmaḷage gurugaṇa, in the Mercara Plates the donee was Candaṇandi bhaṭāra of the Dēśiga gaṇa and Koṇḍakundānvaya. At all events, in both these epigraphs the donors were high-ranking feudatories.

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*33. EC VII (new ed) Ng. 149

*34. EC IX (old ed) Nl 60.

*35. EC III (new ed) Nj. 278

*36. EC I (new ed) No. 1

Several Ganga monarchs and members of the royal family actively patronized Jainism in the second phase by constructing basadis and making grants for their maintenance. Thus Rācamalla I had a basadi constructed at Vaḷḷimalai, a Jaina[*37] pilgrimage spot (in modern Tamil Nadu). He thus appears to have been a Jaina by faith although his Perjjaraṅgi Grant describes him as a devotee of Viṣṇu[*38]. Nītimārga Eṟeyanga I and his son Būtuga I are described as devout Jainas in the Kerehaḷḷi plates of Nītimārga Eṟeyaṅga II[*39]. Rācammalla II granted the twelve hamlets of Biḷiūr to Sarvaṇandi dēva for the maintenance of the Satyavākya Jinālaya built at Peṇṇekaḍanga[*40]. This shrine was evidently constructed at the instance of Racamalla himself who bore the title of Satyavākya. Rācamalla II and his nephew Eṟeyapparasa who were joint rulers also granted one sollage of white rice, forced labour and clarified butter for the Kella basadi constructed by Cāgi Permānaḍi[*41]. Similarly the Kōḷigere inscription (Maddūr taluk, Maṇḍya district) of AD 916-17 records that Eṟeyapparasa the reigning king consented to the grant of the revenue proceeds from Tippeyūr to the basadi constructed at Kanakagiri tīrtha by Maṇalēyara[*42]. In both these cases the social status of Cāgi Permānaḍi and Maṇalēyara cannot be discerned. But the support extended by the reigning Gaṅga kings is indubitable.

Būtuga II and his successors were staunch Jainas. Būtuga is described as a devout Jaina in the Kuḍlūr Plates of Mārasimha II[*43]. Mārasimha II is said to have erected basadis and small mānastambhas at various places before relinquishing sovereignty and

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*37. EI IV, pp. 140-141.

*38. EC V (new ed) Kn 49.11, 102-103.

*39. EC IV (new ed) Ch 354 11. 49-50, 60

*40. EC I (new ed) No. 96 of AD 888.

*41. EC VI (new ed) Ppu 16 of the end of the ninth century.

*42. EC VII (new ed) Mu 100.

*43. K.V. Ramesh, op. cit., No. 138.

observing the vow of ritual death under the supervision of Ajitasēna bhaṭṭāraka at Bankāpura*[44]. His mother Kallabbē constructed a shrine with an accompanying monastery for which Mārasimha granted the village of Kāḍalūr in Komgal deśa*[45]. Būtuga's sister Pāmbabbe the queen of his feudatory Immaḍi Paḍiyaṟa Dhōrappayya is said to have taken vows as nun and practised penance for thirty years before inviting death*[46]. Mārasimha II' sister Kundaṇasōmidēvi, the queen of Rājāditya of Cāḷukya vamśa, got an image of Jina made*[47].

Other notable patrons of Jainism in this period were Cāvuṇḍarāya and his son Jinadēvaṇa. Cāvuṇḍarāya, the vassal of Mārasimha II and Rācamalla IV Ganga had erected the Gommaṭa colossus on the big hill at Śravaṇabēḷgōḷa in c AD 983*[48]. The Cāvuṇḍarāya basadi on the small hill at Śravaṇabēḷgōḷa is also credited to him*[49], but B.R. Gopal et.al. are of the opinion that the characaters of this record belong to a later period*[50]. The inscription on the pedestal of the image of Pārśvanātha enshrined in the basadi states that a Jaina temple was caused to be constructed at Bēḷagōḷa by Jinadēvaṇa the son of Cāvuṇḍarāya and the laydisciple (guḍḍa) of Ajitasēna bhaṭṭāraka*[51]. The editors, therefore, attribute the shrine to Jinadēvaṇa. Later additions to the Cāvuṇḍarāya basadi were made in the twelfth century by Ēcaṇa, the son of Gangarāja at which time the temple itself was attributed to Cāvuṇḍarāya. Settar to assigns the Cāvuṇḍarāya basadi to the early eleventh century and is of the view that it was constructed by someone else

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*44. EC II (new ed) SB 64.

*45. K.V. Ramesh, op. cit., No 156.

*46. EC VI (old ed) Kd 1

*47. EC V (old ed) Mj 67.

*48. EC II (new ed) SB272-273.

*49. Ibid, SB 151.

*50. Ibid, Introduction, p. (LXXV)

*51. Ibid, SB 150

in Cāvuṇḍarāya's memory. The image in the garbhagṛha of this basadi had originally belonged to a basadi called Trailokyarañjana or Boppaṇa caityālaya which had been built by Gangarāja's son Ēcaṇa in the twelfth century*[52]. Apart from this, Cāvuṇḍarāya is also the author of the Triṣaṣṭhilakṣaṇa Mahāpurāṇam, a Kannaḍa prose work which narrates the lives of the sixty-three śalākāpuruṣas of Jainism*[53].

Attimabbe, the patroness of Ranna was also a munificent champion of Jainism. She is said to have caused more than 1500 images of the Jaina made and countless Sahasrakūṭa basadis constructed. She also dedicated golden lamps and jewel-encrusted tōraṇas for the Jina*[54]. She inspired Ranna to compose the Ajita Tīrthakara Purāṇa*[55] while her father Mallappayya and his younger brother Ponnamayya requested Ponna to compose the Śāntinātha Purāṇa in honour of their deceased guru Jinacandra Muni of the Kāṇūr gaṇa*[56].

Thus we find princes and high-ranking feudatories actively participating in the construction of Jaina shrines. This was in accordance with the injunction of the Purāṇas wherein construction of Jinālayas and grants for their maintenance were recommended as a pious duty for princes*[57]. This was also in keeping with the resources of these individuals who hailed from the highest echelons of the feudal aristocracy.

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*52. S. Settar, Sravaṇabeḷgōḷa Monuments. Ph.D. Thesis submitted to the Karnataka University, Dharwad, (1967)., p. 107.

*53. B.S. Kulkarni (ed) Triṣaṣṭhi Lakṣaṇa Mahāpurāṇam (henceforth Cāvuṇḍarāyapurāṇam), Dharwad (1975), p. 452.

*54. Ranna's Ajita Tīrthakara Purāṇam I. 57-59.

*55. Ibid, I.77.

*56. Ponna's Śāntinātha Purāṇa I-50-51

*57. Supra, p , fn 2-6, also Cāvuṇḍarāya Purāṇam, op. cit., p. 211.

## Gāvuṇḍas, Śeṭṭis And Petty Landlords

One of the earliest instances of a low-ranking feudatory supporting Jainism comes from the Kuḷagāṇa plates of Śivamāra I which record grants of land by Oraṁkal and Sīpālvoygar, the joint administrators of Tuppūr for the caitya at Kellipūsūr*[58]. The Hebbālaguppe inscription (Heggaḍedēvanakōṭe taluk, Mysore district) of the ninth century registers the grant of six khaṇḍugas of land each from Narasigere appōr and Goyyindammagaḷ for the basadi constructed for Duggamāra by Nārāyaṇa Peruntāccan*[59]. While the precise rank of these donors cannot be discerned, they were clearly landholders. Some tenth century inscriptions from Hangal (Guṇḍlupēṭ taluk, Mysore district) record that Cikka Jōgabbe, the wife of Sarva Lōkāśraya, had a metallic Cauvīsa Tīrthankaa image, four lamp stands and ten small utensils made for the worship of the Jinas*[60]. Once again, the precise social standing of Cikka Jōgabbe cannot be determied but the plural suffix to her name would indicate a respectable social position.

The Bandaḷike inscription (Shikārpur taluk, Shimoga district) of AD 919-20 mentions Jākiyabbe who is said to have displayed Jinaśāsana bhakti. The grant of a four mattal field egistered in the epigraph*[61], however, may not have been for a Jaina shrine. The inscription employs the term dēvāra to denote the temple in question. This term is usually taken to denote a Hindu shrine whereas Jaina temples are termed caitya or basadi. The Bandaḷike inscription goes on to record Jākiyabbe's renunciation and the acceptance of the vow (nontu) probably of ritual death, with courage and devotion at the basadi at Bandaḷike.

Another Jaina devotee of indeterminate origins who had a temple constructed was Lokkiyabbe of Pombucca. This temple (Jinagēha) was situated at the town of Kombāśi and received several grants for Jinābhiṣēka from gauḍas and śeṭṭis*[62].

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*58. Supra, p320 , fn 30.

*59. EC III (new ed) Hg 63.

*60. EC III (new ed) Gu 203-205.

*61. EC VII (old ed) Sk 219.

*62. EC VII (old ed) Sh 114 of c.AD 950.

Several Jina votaries are recorded as having invited death by the acceptance of a ritual vow such as samādhi maraṇa or sanyasana. One such inscription records the death of Dējebbe, the daughter of Bhaṇḍārada Bādavayya and the disciple of Candrābhajinēndra*64. Bhaṇḍārada Bādavayya was probably the Officer-in-Charge of the treasury. Thus this lady was the daughter of an official in all probability. An inscription from Chikka Hanasoge records the death of Jākkiyabbe the wife of Nāgakumara who is described as a Jinabhakta and a subhaṭa (warrior)*65. Similarly an inscription from Ankanāthapura (Hoḷe Narsipur taluk, Hassan district) of the tenth century records the death of Cāmakkabbegaḷ the mother of Daḍiga śeṭṭiyar and Dēvaradāsayya*66.

Prime material support to Jainism came from higher ranking feudatories and sovereigns. Lower ranking feudatories such as the gāvuṇḍas and petty landlords were not so much involved in the construction and endowment of shrines. This could not have been due to a lack of material capacity since we find these classes actively constructing Śaiva shrines particularly in the tenth century. However, many of the lay disciples who were initiated into vows of ritual death were drawn from among lower ranking feudatories, landlords and merchants.

It is interesting to note that in literary works too the majority of those depicted as seeking release from the world by inviting death through the rite of sanyasana were drawn from the aristocracy or the prosperous mercantile community. Settar observes that literary references to commoners having been admitted to sanyasana were an exception. Repeated rebirths were considered the consequence of accumulated karma which in turn depended on the social order into which a person is reborn. It was not possible to realize the fruits of a pious death without improving social status and shedding karma*67. In this

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*64. EC V (new ed) Kn 74 - of the tenth century.

*65. Ibid, Kn 34.

*66. EC VIII (new ed), HN 62.

*67. S. Settar, Pursuing Death; Philosophy and Practice of the Voluntary Termination of life, I.I.A.H., No. 4. (Dharwad, 1990), p. 251.

connection he cites a passage from the Cāvuṇḍarāya Purāṇa which explicitly excludes artisans and other low caste groups from being initiated into the sanyasana rite*[68].

The Jainas were thus as much bound by the varṇa system as the Hindus. The Ankanāthapura memorial of Cāmakkabbegaḷ which was referred to above describes her sons as the support of the Cāturvarṇa and the Śravaṇa Saṅgha*[69]. This is brought out by the literary works as well. In Pampa's Ādi Purāṇam, Ādinātha is credited with the creation of the kṣatrīya, vaiśya and śūdra varṇas*[70] while his son, the first Cakravarti Bharata creates the brāhmaṇa varṇa*[71]. Ādi Tīrthaṁkara also forbids varṇasaṁkara. This theme is repeated in other works as well. Thus in Ponna's Śānti Purāṇam, Satyabhāmā, the daughter of a Rājapurōhita is unknowingly married to Kapila, the son of a brāhmaṇa by his house slave (toḷtu). When she realize this, she seeks the king's protection from her husband exhorting him to perform his duty in protecting the Varṇāśramadharma*[72]. King Śrīṣēṇa who was a devout Jaina acceded her request and drove out Kapila from his kingdom. This would indicate that the Jainas too attached great importance to the maintenance of Varṇāśramadharma. This is also brought out by the Vaḍḍārādhane which in its description of the evils of the Kaliyuga mentions miscegnation and brāhmaṇas taking to unworthy deeds as its characteristic features*[73]. This shows that Jainas abhorred miscegnation as much as the brāhmaṇa authors of the Dharmaśāstras did.

In sum Jainism derived its support for most part from the ruling classes and members of upper castes whether it was in construction and endowment of temples or in

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*68. Ibid.

*69. Supra, fn 66.

*70. K.L. Narasimha Sastri (ed, transl), Pampa's Ādi Purāṇam, Bangore (1980), VIII 64 vacana.

*71. Ibid XV. 6-12.

*72. Ponna's Śānti Purāṇam, Bangalore (1982); VII. 65 vacana.

*73. Vaḍḍārādhane, op. cit., p. 131.

the performance of the vows of ritual death. Lower ranking feudatories and landlords did not support Jainism in large numbers. By and large this class appears to have suported Śaivism particularly in the tenth century.

***Women:*** The evidence reviewed above clearly reveals the popularity of Jainism among women from the earliest period. Even in the first phase women like the royal concubine Nandavvâ and the mother of Pallavādhirāja Simhaviṣṇu took the lead in construction and endowment of Jaina shrines. In the second phase the contributions of Kundācci, Attimabbe and the princesses and queens of the Ganga royal family may be recollected.

Occasionally we find the queens of staunch Śaiva princes supporting Jainism. Thus the Vārakōḍu nisidhi commemorates the death of Piṭṭabbe the queen of Durga by the acceptance of a ritual vow*74. Durga mentioned in this tth century inscription was probably identical with the Cāḷukya Mahāsāmanta Durga whose grant of a village and other lands to the Būteśvara temple is recorded in a tenth century epigraph from Varuṇa*75. If so, it is interesting to observe that while the Mahāsāmanta patronized Śaivism, his queen was a Jaina by faith. Similarly the Nōḷamba Mahēndrādhirāja was a staunch Śaiva but his queens Bijaya Mahādēvī, Parama Mahādēvī, Akkabbe and Ḍōmbabbe made grants of land for a basadi in their capacity as fief-holders*76.

Nandi relates the popularity of Jainism among women to the doctrinal changes introduced by the schismatic Yāpanīyas and later in his opinion, adopted by the orthodox Digambaras as well, which advocated the salvation of women in this birth*77. While the Yāpanīyas undeniably held that nuns could attain mokṣa in this very life since the only

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*74. EC V (new ed) My 129

*75. EC V (new ed) My 129.

*76. EC XII (old ed) Si 24 of CAD 880.

*77. R.N. Nandi, Religious Institutions and Cults, loc. cit., p. 60

prerequisite for that was perfection of the Triratnas of samyagdarśana, samyagjñāna and samyagcaritra in which women are not deficient even according to the scriptures*78, the Digambaras held firmly to their view that women could not perfect the Three Jewels. This in their opinion, was due to the fact that nudity, one of the prerequisites of mokṣa, was forbidden to women. More fundamentally they hold that the bodies of women engender subtle life forms as a consequence of which nuns could not perfect the vow of ahiṁsā*79. The Digambara view is also put forward in the vernacular Jaina works composed in the tenth century, namely, the Vaḍḍārādhane, Pampa's Ādi Purāṇam, Ponna's Śānti Purāṇam and Ranna's Ajita Tīrthakara Purāṇam, as well the Cāvuṇḍarāya Purāṇam. Thus in Cāvuṇḍarāya Purāṇam, Sītā describes rebirth as a woman as a consequence of sin*80 while in the Vaḍḍārādhane such rebirth is described as a consequence of mithyātva*81 (wrong views, knowledge and conduct).

In all these works women are never protrayed as achieving mokṣa without being reborn as a man. Nandi's contention that the Digambaras too later adopted the Yāpanīya view on the salvation of women is thus unacceptable. He bases this on the mistaken premise that the fruit of sallēkhanā was believed to be nothing less than salvation and that we find numerous nuns whose death by performance of sallēkhanā is commemorated in the records of the period*82. However, sallekhanā did not automatically lead to salvation even for men in the Digambara conception. Thus in the Śānti Purāṇa of Ponna, Megharatha who shuffled off his mortal coil observing the rite of Prāyōpagamana was

*78. Strīnirvāṇa Prakaraṇa of Yāpanīya Ācārya Śakaṭāyana, cited in P.S. Jaini, op. cit., p. 49.

*79. This view as first enunciated by Digambara Ācārya Kundakunda (c.AD 150) but was elaborated later by Prabhācandra in his Nyāyakumudacandra and Ācārya Jayasēna in his Tātparyavṛtti in the early eleventh century, vide P.S. Jaini, op. cit., pp. 34-35.

*80. Cāvuṇḍarāyapurāṇam, op. cit., p. 302.

*81. Vaḍḍārādhane, op. cit., p. 69.

*82. R.N. Nandi, Religious Institutions and Cults, loc. cit., p. 60.

reborn as a consequence of the merit thus acquired in the heaven of Sarvārthasiddhi. Descending from there he was reborn as Śāntinātha[*83].

The Yāpanīyas had only a limited presence in Southern Karnataka being based primarily in the districts of Belgaum, Dharwad and Gulbarga in Northern Karnataka. The Digambara Mūla Saṅgha and its subdivisions held sway in Southern Karnataka. In view of this the appeal of Jainism to women becomes inexplicable unless we presume that its doctrine that the soul could be freed from its karmic bondage through one's own efforts was more attractive to them than that of the rival Pāśupata-Kālāmukhas who held that the almighty Śiva could ignore human karma altogether acting as an absolutist potentate on whose grace humans were abjectly dependent for mokṣa[*84].

## II) The Jaina Pantheon

The Jainas primarily worshipped by the Twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras whose images were consecrated for worship in temples. Earlier scholars such as A.N. Upadhye, Sinclair Stevenson and others held that the Jaina motive in worship was not to receive boons or favours from the deity but to meditate on him as a model in order to obtain perfection. However, Singh points out that a study of Jaina literature particularly of the early medieval period would make it clear that a major motive of worship was the expectation of both temporal and spiritual benefits. Jaina deities were considered dispensors of grace in the same manner as the Hindu deities. He cites the Jaina Harivaṁśa Purāṇa which states that release from worldly afflictions, the attainment of worldly ends and release from the influence of evil spirits could be obtained by means of the worship of Jinas. Similarly, the Mahāpurāṇa of Jinasēna and Guṇabhadra states that those desirous of wealth, freedom from bondage and disease should worship the Jina[*85]. Pampa too

*83. Ponna's Śānti Purāṇam IX. 118-119.

*84. David N. Lorenzen, The Kāpālikas and Kālāmukhas: Two lost Śaiva Sects, California, (1972), p. 173.

*85. R.B.P. Singh, op.cit., pp. 28-32.

recommends the worship of the Jina when afflicted by a maddened elephant, poisonous snake, a fire, an enemy, thieves or a spirit. The adoration of the Jinas is also said to bestow cakravarti status and all pleasures in this world and the next on the worshipper*[86].

Tīrthaṅkaras were even identified with Hindu gods. Thus Raviṣēṇa identifies Ādinātha with Śiva and Svayambhū while Jinasēna describes him as Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Svayambhū*[87]. The Jainas had earlier criticised the Hindu theory of creation and destruction of the universe. But in the early medieval period there was a change in the Jaina view of cosmogony. Now the Jinas were assigned both creative and destructive powers. Thus Ādinātha is spoken of as the creator and destroyer of the Universe in the Mahāpurāṇa of Jinasēna and Guṇabhadra*[88]. Similarly, in Pampa's Ādi Purāṇam, Ādinātha is repeatedly described as Ādi Brahmā*[89]. In another context Tīrthaṅkaras generally are identified with Viṣṇu, Śiva and Brahmā*[90].

The worship of the Pañcaparamēṣṭhins was closely related to the worship of the Tīrthaṅkaras. The Pañcaparameṣṭhins constitute a group of five graded, purified souls. These include the Arhat or Jina who was ommiscient and endowed with superhuman qualities; the siddha who had realized perfection; the Acarya or guide who regulated the social order in accordance with Jaina precepts; the Upādhyāya or preceptor who had the mastered the sacred lore and the sādhu or monk bent on salvation and engaged in austerities*[91]. The Jaina Purāṇas of our period commence with the salutations to the

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*86. Pampa's Ādi Purāṇam, XVI, 8-9.

*87. R.B.P. Singh. op. cit., pp. 30-31.

*88. Ibid.

*89. Pampa's Ādi Purāṇam VIII. 66 Vacana, XV. 23.

*90. Ibid XVI. 6.

*91. R.B.P: Singh, op.cit., pp. 32-33.

Pañcaparamēṣṭhins[*92]. Their invocation was termed Pañcanamaskāra, Pañcapada, Pañcākṣarapada, or Namaskāramantra and was recommended both to the laity for overcoming mundane problems of daily life, and to the monks seeking final liberation[*93]. Thus the Cāvuṇḍarāya Purāṇa mentions two instances when the recitation of the Pañcanamaskāra proved efficacious in rescuing devout śrāvikās from critical situations[*94]. Recitation of the Pañcapadas was also recommended to those seeking death as a means of attaining mokṣa[*95]. This was achieved by concentrating the mind on the Pañcanamaskāras while shuffling off the mortal coil.

Another associated practice was the worship of the footprints of spiritual teachers. The footprints of Jaina preceptors were engraved on stone and worshipped. Thus the Bhadrabāhu cave enshrines the footprints of Bhadrabāhu who is said to have spent his last days here. It was only a rock shelter originally to which the western wall and southern porch were added subsequently[*96]. An eleventh century inscription on the western wall states the Jinacandra bowed to the feet of Bhadrabāhusvāmi[*97]. It is difficult to date the Bhadrabāhu cave[*98] but it possible that it predated the eleventh century since two inscriptions from the Maṇḍya district of the early tenth century state that Kaḷbappu is blessed with the imprints of the feet of Bhadrabāhu and Candragupta[*99]. That the practice

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*92. Pampa's Ādipurāṇam I. 1-6; Ponna's Śāntipurāṇam I. 1-5. Ranna's Ajita Purāṇam I. 1-5.

*93. S. Settar; Inviting Death: Historical Experiments on Sepulchral Hill, Dharwad (1986), pp. 106-108.

*94. Cāvuṇḍarāya Purāṇa, op.cit., pp. 57, 396.

*95. S. Settar, Inviting Death, loc. cit., p. 107.

*96. S. Settar, Śravaṇabēḷgōla Monuments, loc. cit., p. 173.

*97. EC II. (new ed). SB 251.

*98. S. Settar. Śravaṇabēḷgōla Monuments, loc. cit., p. 173, EC II. (new ed) Introduction; p. (LXXV).

*99. EC VI (new ed) Sr. 85, Ppu 16.

of reverencing the footprints of teachers dates back to at least the tenth century is also brought out by an inscription compiled by P.B. Desai which refers to the carving of footprints of Jaṭāsimhanadi by Cāvaya*[100].

The practice of worshipping footprints was not limited to Jainism alone. The Buddha's footprints were worshipped and in the early period the Buddha was represented only by such symbols*[101]. Among the Vaiṣṇavas there was already a tendency to relate the worship of the natural hollows and fetishes on hills and rocks to the myth of Trivikrama. But in the opinion of Jaiswal the practice of dedicating footprints as an object of worship and of erecting shrines over them gained popularity due to Buddhist influence*[102]. The Jaina practice was probably influenced by the Buddhist and Vaiṣṇava parallels.

Apart from the worship of the Tīrthaṅkaras and preceptors, the worship of the family members of the Tīrthaṅkara, particularly of Bāhubali, the son of Ādinātha became popular in Karnāṭaka. This was especially so after the erection of the Gommaṭa Colossus on the big hill at Śravaṇabēḷgōḷa by Cāvuṇḍarāya. Singh relates this cult to brāhmaṇical influence. Thus the sons of the Jina were thus worshipped in the same manner as the sons of Śiva are worshipped by Hindus*[103].

The Cāvuṇḍrāya Purāna states that the Jinajananis were worshipped, particularly by laywomen. Apart from this, the worship of Vaiśravaṇa, the keeper of treasure for acquiring puṇya, of Dharaṇēndra for acquiring sons, and of Śrīdēvī for warding off the

*100. P.B. Desai, Jainism in South India and Some Jaina Epigraphs, Sholapur (1957) Inscriptions No. 20.

*101. Sukumari Bhattacharji, The Indian Theogony: A Comparative Study of Indian Mythology from the Vedas to the Puranas, Cambridge 1970, pp. 286-287.

*102. S. Jaiswal, The Origin and Development of Vaiṣṇavism, 2nd ed, Delhi (1982), Appendix c, p. 249-250.

*103. R.B.P. Singh, op. cit., p. 35.

influence of evil deities (vairi dēvategal) by the laity is also attested to in this work*[104]. In the Vaddārādhane, Śriyādēvatā is propitiated by the queen Ilā Mahādēvī for sons after her temple is set up in the city. Śriyādēvatā consults Svayamprabha Tīrthaṅkara who tells her that a god would soon descend from heaven and be son to Ilā Mahādēvī. That child, when born, was named Siridiṇṇa, the gift of Śrī*[105].

Apart from these subordinate deities, Yakṣas and Yakṣis who were originally attendants of the Jinas came to be worshipped as independent deities in the early medieval period. Thus in the seventh century Mēguti temple at Aihole, Ambikā, the Yakṣī of Nēminātha who should have placed on his left, waiting on him, is shown independently*[106]. Likewise, the Yakṣa Sarvāhṇa is extolled as the conferror of boons on the bhavyas, the crusher of enemies and the guide of the ardent to siddhi. His images were installed and worshipped in the majority of the Jaina basadis from the seventh to the twelfth centuries A.D. One of the earliest of such images ascribable to the eighth or ninth centuries is found in the vestibule of the Candragupta Basadi at Śravaṇabēḷgōḷa. Images of this Yakṣa also replaced Jina images a top mānastambhas*[107].

The Yakṣis Jvālāmālinī and Padmāvatī became the focus of Tantric cults as the composition of the Jvalinī Kalpa and the Bhairava Padmāvatī Kalpa in the ninth and tenth centuries attest. Jvālāmālinī was the Yakṣī of the eighth Tīrthaṅkara Candraprabha in the Digambara works. She was an awe-inspiring goddess depicted with flames issuing forth from her head and holding a bow, a sheild, an arrow, sword, cakra, and other weapons on her eight arms and riding a subdued buffalo*[108]. Settar notes the Hindu and Buddhist

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*104. Cāvuṇḍarāya Purāṇam, op. cit., pp. 221-222.

*105. Vaddārādhane, op. cit., p. 152.

*106. R.B.P. Singh, op. cit., pp..51-52.

*107. S. Settar, "The Brahmadeva Pillars", in Artibus Asiae, Vol 33, (1971), p. 31.

*108. S. Settar, The Cult of Jvālāmālinī and earliest images of Jvālāmālinī and Syama" in Artibus Asiae; Vol 31 (1969), p. 314., R.N. Nandi, Religious Institutions and Cults...., loc. cit. p. 153.

parallels. In Buddhism a similar goddess Ekajaṭā was introduced under Tantric influence. This goddess was also known as Vidyujjvālākarālī in one of her forms. In the Hindu Kaula Tantra, a goddess Jvālāmālinī is included in the list of sixteen nityas*[109]. The Tantric cult of this goddess among the Digambara Jainas was inculcated by Ēlācārya or Hēlācārya, the leader of the Drāviḍa gaṇa and the native of Malaya Hēmagrāma. He invoked the aid of the goddess to exorcise a Brahmarākṣasa who had possessed a female disciple named Kamalaśrī. The goddess is said to have dwelt on top of Nīlagiri hill. Settar identifies the village Malaya Hēmagrāma with Ponnūr in the North Arcot district of Tamil Nadu while the Nīlagiri Hill was in his opinion identifiable with either the Nīlagiri in the Western Ghats or with the hill near Ponnūr*[110]. Nandi, on the other hand, identified Malaya Hēmagrāma with Maleyūr in the Chāmrājanagar taluk of Mysore district which was famous in the early medieval period as Kanakagiri tīrtha, a Jaina centre of some importance*[111]. The Tantric cult of Jvālāmālinī was systematized by Indraṇandi whose Jvālinīkalpa was completed by AD 939 at Mānyakhēṭa, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa capital. The popularity of the cult was probably due to the tradition of Ēlācārya. In Karnāṭaka the earliest independent images of Jvālāmālinī at Aihoḷe date back to the eihth century*[112]. However the images the Yakṣi at the Candraprabha basadi at Śravaṇabēḷgōḷa is not that of Jvālāmālinī*[113]. The cult of Jvālāmālinī rose to greater eminence after the period under study. In the twelfth century and thereafter we have epigraphic references to indepedent temples of the deity*[114].

Padmāvatī, the Yakṣī of the twenty-third Jina Pārśvanātha, was also the focus of a Tantric cult which was systematized by the eleventh century, when the Bhairava Padmāvatī Kalpa was composed. Nandi opines that the Jaina goddess was derived from the Hindu Purāṇic goddess Padmāvatī who was a consort of Viṣṇu. This suggestion gains

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*109. S. Settar "The cult of Jvalamalini...", loc. cit., p. 308.

*110. Ibid. p. 309.

*111. R.N. Nandi Religious Institutions and Cults..., loc. cit., p. 154.

*112. S. Settar, "The cult of Jvalamalini...", loc. cit., p. 310.

*113. Ibid.

*114. Ibid.

strength from the fact that Padmāvatī and the Yakṣa Dharaṇendra of the Jina Pārśvanātha are both depicted with seven-hooded snakes over their heads - an attribute of Viṣṇu as Anantaśāyin*[115].

The Yakṣī Padmāvatī also figures in the Shimoga inscriptions' account of the origin of the Gaṅgas. She is said to have favoured Mādhava with a sword for breaking a stone pillar. However, although earlier records mention the breaking of the stone pillar by Koṅgaṇivarman, the association of the goddess Padmāvatī with this legend occurs only in the Shimoga records of the eleventh and twelfth centuries*[116]. Therefore it is not possible to ascribe the cult of Padmāvatī as early as date as the fourth century A.D. But Padmāvatī figures prominently in Śāntara records. Jinadattarāya, the founder of the Śāntara kingdom is said to have established an image of Lokkiyabbe (another name of Padmāvatī) at Paṭṭi Pombuchapura, the capital of his kingdom in the tenth century*[117]. If so, the worship of this Yakṣī as an independent deity in Karnāṭaka dates back to at least the tenth century. The Kaṇatūr inscription of AD 1025*[118] refers to a hill chieftain Māḷeparāditya Permāḍi who is described as the obtainer a boon from the goddess Padumāvati. This would indicate that by the first quarter of the eleventh century the cult was fairly popular in this region.

The rise of the cults of Jaina Yakṣis was part of a general process in the early medieval period when mother- goddess cults gained in popularity*[119]. This may be traced to the influence of the aboriginal tribes in marginal areas which were in the process

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*115. R.N. Nandi. Religious Institutions and Cults, loc. cit., p. 155-156.

*116. Supra, Chapter III, Section A, pp. 104 ff.

*117. R.B.P. Singh, op.cit., pp. 54-55.

*118. EC VIII (new ed) Al 8.

*119. R.S. Sharma, "Material Milieu of Tantricism", in R.S. Sharma and V. Jha (ed) Indian Society: Historical Probings, Delhi (1974). p. 181., B.D. Chattopadhyaya "Introduction: The Making of Early Medieval India", in idem, The Making of Early Medieval India, Delhi (1994), pp. 31-33.

of being assimilated into the varṇa society of the early medieval period. Their mother-goddesses whether at the tribal level or the intermediate village level were then absorbed by both the Jainas and the Hindus.

A closely related factor was the rise in the popularity of Tantricism in this period. Sharma points out that some of the Tantric texts were clearly associated with particular tribes and almost all were composed in the outlying tribal areas. Many of the Tantric practices were thus influenced by the primitive religious observances of the aboriginal tribes. He suggests that the mystic diagrams (yantras), the sacred circles (cakras) of the Śāktas and the different Maṇḍala Krama rituals of Tantric worshippers possibly represented the continuation of the worship of stone tools and weapons as cult objects which were often associated with fertility rites. Similarly sexual rites formed an important part of aboriginal rituals for promoting fertility of the earth[*120]. Tantrism with its various magic rituals for the fulfilment of temporal and spiritual ends gained tremendous popularity in this period and affected Buddhism, Śaivism, Vaiṣṇavism and Jainism.

For the purpose of occult practices Tīrthaṅkaras could not act as agents. They occupied a presidential position in the pantheon somewhat akin to the position of the Buddha in the Sinhalese Buddhist pantheon. Obeysekere observes that this presidential position had two aspects. In the first place all other deities and even demons in the divine hierarchy derived their power from the Buddha. Secondly, the Buddha was not perceived as a deity in the conventional sense as interceding on behalf of humans to bring prosperity or punishing them for transgressions[*121]. Although Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras came to be looked upon as bestowers of boons and favours in the early medieval period, they too were remote for the ordinary layman. In Jainism also, the subordinate deities derived their

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*120. R.S. Sharma, "Material Milieu of Tantricism", loc. cit., pp. 178-179.

*121. G. Obeyesekere, "The Great Tradition and the Little in the perspective of Sinhalese Buddhism" in the Journal of Asian Studies, Vol XXVII, No. 2 (1963), pp. 139-153.

authority from the Jinas as the story of Śriyādēvatā in the Vaḍḍārādhane illustrates*[122]. Thus Jainism needed a category of subordinate deities who could act as agents for occult practices such as exorcism, subjugation (vaśīkaraṇa), and in stupefecation (stambhana). Deities such as Śriyādēvatā or her consort Saudharmēndra could not be invoked for this purpose though they could be propitiated for boons, since these deities were sufficiently high on the ladder of salvation and were future Jinas*[123]. The Yakṣis, particularly such fierce mother goddesses as Jvālāmālinī who were derived from the aboriginal mother goddess, were well suited for this purpose.

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*122. Supra, p.336 fn. 105.

*123. In Sinhalese Buddhism, Guardian Deities who are considered as future Buddhas are propitiated for boons but unlike the demons are said not to cause possession. G. Obeyesekere, The Cult of the Goddess Paṭṭini, Delhi 1987.

(III) THE JAINA TEMPLE:

The Jaina temples were generally smaller and simpler than the brahminical temples. R.N. Nandi observes that the structural growth of the brahmanical temple was related to an inflated ritual, large pantheon and a wide functional base. The sanctum, the vestibule, the assembly hall (sabhā maṇḍapa) and the dance hall (nāṭya maṇṭapa) were all added to the temple structure as a corollary of ritual requirements, while numerous smaller shrines were added to the main temple to house attendant or related deities of the principal deity. Jaina basadis rarely reached such grotesque proprotions since it ran counter to the Jaina ideal of simplicity and humility. *124

Although the worship of attendant deities became popular among the Jainas in the early medieval period it does not appear to have led to the architectural elaboration of the basadis apart from the replacement of Jina figures atop the Mānastambhas by that of Sarvāhṇa Yakṣa.*125 No additional structures appear to have been added to house the Yakṣas and Yakṣis. Rather these images of the attendant deities were placed in the vestibule of the basadi.*126.

Brahmanical temples were also distinguished by narrative sculptural friezes illustrating episodes from the epics and the purāṇas.. This does not seem to characterize Jaina shrines where sculptural panels depict friezes of floral bands. The wall niches at the Pañcakūṭa basadi at Kambadahaḷḷi (Nāgamangaḷa taluk, Maṇḍya district) are surmounted by floral or Makara tōraṇas with flying gandharvas or makaras ridden by Yakṣas.

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*124 R.N.Nandi, "Growth of Rural Economy in Early Feudal India" Presidential Address, Ancient India Section P.I.H.C, (AnnamalaiNagar Session, 1984), Para 2.16, P39.

*125 S. Settar, "The Brahmadeva Pillars", in Artibus Asiae. Vol 33,(1971), pp.31-32.

*126Ibid, P.32; ASMAR 1939,pp.45-46

The niches themselves were occupied by images of the Tīrthankaras. *127

The rare exception to this is provided by the perforated screens at the Candragupta basadi at Śravaṇabēḷgōḷa. This is believed to depict incidents connected with Candragupta Maurya and Bhadrabāhu.*128 However, this screen as well as the beautifully sculpted door jambs were added to the original ninth century structure by a sculptor named Dāsōja in the twelfth century.*129

(IV) THE JAINA MONASTIC ORDER:

MONKS: Monastic discipline among the Digambara Jainas had originally been very strict. They were to discard clothes as part of their vow of non-possession (aparigraha).*130 They were not permitted even an alms bowl; pāṇipātra (palms used as bowl for receiving alms) is a distinctive feature of a Digambara monk.*131 They were allowed to eat or drink only once a day for which they were to visit a Jaina household whether rich or poor and if offered, were to accept food which they were to consume standing, off their palms. A path of roving asceticism was also prescribed. Monks were permitted to seek shelter only during the rainy season. The regimen of penance ideally to be followed by a monk is described by Ponna in his account of the mendicant conduct of Megharatha Muni who was reborn as Śāntinātha. After studying the scriptures under the guidance Ghanaratha Tīrthankara, he sets out as an ēkavihāri, and adopts the anaśana tapa, the avamōdarya tapa, the vṛtti parisankhyāna tapa, the rasaparityāga tapa, the viviktāvāsa tapa (penance in a spot not inhabited by animals, women or hermaphrodites), the Kāyaklēśa tapa (exposing the body to inclement weather with total indifference), etc. and conquered the twenty-two parīṣahas of hunger, thirst, heat etc.

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*127 ASMAR 1939, p.44

*128 S.Settar, Śravaṇabēḷgōḷa Monuments, loc.cit.,pp.174-175

*129 Ibid, p.102.

*130 Ponna's Śānti Purāṇam VIII.122 Vacana.

*131 P.S. Jaini, op.cit., p.34, p36, fn 4.

He practised the six penances of perfecting expiation (prāyaścitta) humility (vinaya), service (Vaiyāvṛtya), study (svādhyāya), and meditation (dhyāna) in the Kāyotsarga posture.*132 He meditated on the twelve Anuprekṣas (essential principles such as anityatva, the state of transience, āsrava, the influx of subtle Kārmic matter into the soul, samvara, the stoppage of new influx by the soul, nirjarā the dissociation of the soul from accumulated Karmic matter, etc.)*133 and perfected the Triratnas foremost of which is mercy and forgiveness. By his faultless observance of the Pañcamahāvratas, the Pañcasamiti (five kinds of precautions against harming living creatures)*134 and the Triguptis (guarding of the three doors of action- the mind, speech and body) he achieved that equanimity by which he was alike indifferent to friend and foe, honour and dishonour. By practising these penances he became emaciated and acquired the seven siddhis (supernatural powers). He visited numerous caityālayas by means of cāraṇa (the power of roaming through the air). He thus acquired the merit by means of which he was born first in the Sarvārthasiddhi heaven and thereafter as a Tīrthankara.*135 A similar account is given by Ranna in his Ajita Tīrthakara Purāṇa when he describes the penances and observance undertaken by Vimalavāhana Muni, the future Ajitanātha.*136

While the early medieval Jaina works continue to uphold and commend these ancient ideals epigraphic evidence indicates that Jaina monks were gradually giving up the practice of roving asceticism and taking to settled life in monasteries. They were also entrusted with grants for temples which appears paradoxical in view of their vow of aparigraha.

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*132 Ponna's Śāntipurāṇam IX. 105-108

*133 H.P. Nagarajayya(ed), Ponna's Śānti Purāṇam, Appendix IV, p.542, q.v. Anuprekṣa, also P.S. Jaini, op.cit. p.93,fn 4.

*134 H.P.Nagarajayya, op.cit, p.544, q.v. Pañcasamiti.

*135 Ponna's Śānti Purāṇam IX. 110-113, 117.

*136 Ranna's Ajita Tīrthakara Purāṇam, III.1-2 Vacana.

Some monks may have continued the ancient practice of wandering asceticism. An early fifth century inscription of Kadamba Ravivarman provided for the free feeding of Yāpanīya monks during the rainy season.*137 These were apparently groups of monks who were not attached to a place. Similarly, a tenth century nişidhi inscription from Chikka Hanasoge (Krishnarāja nagara taluk, Mysore district), mentions a monk, Kalneledēva who is described as a Jangama tīrtha (moving pilgrimage spot) as opposed to the Gommaṭa tīrtha which was stationary (sthāvara). The description of the monk as Jangama tīrtha might imply that he followed the rule of wandering asceticism.*138

The trend of growing laxity in ascetic discipline is noticeable in the records from Śravaṇabēḷgōḷa. Settar *139 observes that between the seventh and ninth centuries the monks and nuns who came to Śravaṇabēḷgōḷa in pursuit of death followed a rigorous ascetic discipline. They do not appear to have possessed more than the wooden bowl and peacock feather fan permitted to them. They did not aspire for a regular lay following and shunned attachment to a place. Their main quest was for personal salvation. During and after the tenth century at Śravaṇabēḷgōḷa, the monks appear to have given up the rule of roving asceticism, attracted the laity closer to themselves with concomitant patronage for the basadis to which they acted as managers.

This transition appears to have taken place even earlier outside Śravaṇabēḷgōḷa. The grants made by the early Ganga rulers were in all but one instance, entrusted to

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*137 I.A Vol VI, p.28

*138 EC V (new ed) Kn 36.

*139 S. Settar, Inviting Death : Historical Experiments on Sepulchral Hill Dharwad (1986), pp.155-156.

monks of the Mūla Sangha. Thus as early as the fifth century some monks appear to have settled down permanently in a temple. By the eighth century this had become common as temple worship gained in importance.*140

In Thailand, Tambaiah has found that newly founded kingdoms tended to patronize ascetic forest monk fraternities since they served as an effective counterweight to already established monasteries in villages and towns which were not of their creation. They preferred to sponsor new ordination lineages of forest monks whose ascetic pure practices could attract lay attention and support. The sponsorship of such forest monk fraternities served another purpose too. Such monasteries were situated on forest edges or frontiers of advancing settlements and could act as elite carriers of civilization. They could also act as the foci for the collective religious activities and moral sentiments of the frontier settlements.*141

It is not clear how far this is applicable to the Jaina monastic establishments of our region. As we have seen Jaina literary works uphold the ascetic practices of the wandering monks. In literary works, kings and other members of the laity bestowed on such monks the gifts of utensils (pātra dāna),*142 food (āhāradāna) *143 and medicine (auṣadhi dāna).*144 In these works we do not find monks receiving grants of land or villages for temple although such grants were recommended as a duty for the pious laity in some literary works. *145 However, inscriptions reveal that monks and nuns were settling down permanently and receiving grants of villages and plots of land. We cannot descern whether these temples and monastic establishments were located in frontier regions and whether kings sponsored new establishments in preference to already existing monastic groups.

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*140 For details of grants to Jaina shrines vide supra, section A(I).

*141 S.J. Tambaiah, Buddhist Saints of the forest and the cult of Amulets: A study Charisma, Hagiography, Sectarianism and Millenial Buddhism, Cambridge (1984), p.168. *142 Ponna's Śānti Purāṇam, V.67 Vacana; Vaḍḍārādhane, op.cit., p.208, etc.

*143 Ponna's Śānti Purāṇam VI.73. *144 Vaḍḍārādhane, op.cit., p.161.

*145 Cāvuṇḍarāyapurāṇam, op.cit, p.211.

It is possible that such a shift in patronage gave an additional fillip to the proliferation of the Jaina Sangha. Nandi relates this proliferation to the doctrinal differences that arose among the various groups. The Yāpanīyas introduced certain doctrinal changes such as the advocacy of strīmōkṣa or salvation or women and chēdopasthāpana or resumption of meditation in spite of a break in relation to women.*146 After the breakaway of the Yāpanīyas we have references to several new monastic groups in the Digambara Mūla Sangha from the eighth century such as the Pōgarīya gaṇa, the Surastha gaṇa, the Drāviḍa sangha and the Nandi Sangha. A later tradition ascribed the origin of these new groups to the splitting of the Mūla sangha by the sage Arthabali into the Sēna, Nandi, Dēva and Simha subdivisions in order to minimize hatred and other evils.*147 This would point to the revival of schimatic pressures within the Mūla sangha. Some of these new groups such as the Sēna Sangha had migrated from the Rājshahi district of Bangladesh to Mysore where they were then affiliated to the parent church, the Mūla Sangha.*148 The Drāviḍa Sangha and the Kāṣṭha Sangha arose out of a rebellion of sections of monks against particular ritual prescriptions such as the ban on bathing, the use of oil and perfumes, and the eating of live gram.*149 Gradually, the rigid ascetic discipline of the Jaina monks appears to have been lost in these newly emergent monastic groups. Additionally, some of these new groups also sponsored the Tantric cult of Yakṣiṇis.*150 This too illustrates the loosening of the moral fibre among some Jaina monks.

Thus, while in Thailand kings seem to have turned to forest monks in order to revive the ascetic tradition in our region the patronage of the laity was extended to monks who settled down permanently and took to new practices such as Tantric worship and the perpetuation of malevolent deities.*151

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*146 R.N. Nandi, Religious Institutions and Cults... loc.cit., p.60

*147 Ibid, pp 47-49 *148 Ibid p 49

*149 Ibid, pp57-58 *150 Supra, Section A(II) P, 335 fn 110-111.

*151 EI IV, No.49, pp. 338 ff.

An important aspect of the Jaina monastic organization during this period was the reduced size of many monastic orders which feature seems to give the impression of a great deal of proliferation. Even as new groups emerged, the unit of organization was the gaṇa or gaccha which consisted on an average of only three members. In these gaṇas the preceptor became all-powerful. This increased importance of the guru may have led to the splitting up of the Mūla Sangha into small units. The preceptor (ācārya) was now responsible for the welfare of the members and was expected to be an able administrator in addition to possessing the requisite academic qualifications. He came to be considered as the means of the final deliverance of his disciples.*152 Thus Ranna in his Ajita Tīrthakara Puranam pays homage to his guru who he says vouchsafed the fulfillment of his desires (emagiṣṭa-siddhiyam dorekoḷisuttum) *153 Ponna likewise devotes thirteen verses to the praise of his guru Jinacandra who is finally described as the hero of the work (Kṛtināyaka) in effect identifying him with Jina Śāntinātha himself.*154 Similarly, Cāvuṇḍarāya eulogizes his preceptor Ajitasēna Munīndra thus : "he removes the stain of Karma and awakens the spirit of those close to him (āptavarga), he astonishes the rival disputants and secures the goddess of liberation (Mokṣalakṣmī) to those desiring it. O Bhavya, worship the lotus feet of Ajitasēna Munīndra with a pure mind" *155 Pampa pays homage to such celebrated ācāryas of the Koṇḍakundānvaya as Samantabhadra, Kavi Parameṣṭhi, Pūjyapāda, Gṛddhrapincchācārya, Jaṭāsimhanandi, Śrutakīrti, Maladhāri Muniśvara, Dēvēndra Muni and Jayanandi Muni.*156 The last mentioined individual was probably his preceptor.

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*152 R.N. Nandi Religious Institutions and Cults, loc.cit., pp.70-71.

*153 Ranna's Ajita Tīrthakara Purāṇam, I.7.

*154 Ponna's Śāntipurāṇam I.25-37

*155 Cāvuṇḍarāya Purāṇam, op.cit, p.4, v.19

*156 Pampa's Ādi Purāṇam I. II-14.

The guru was thus considered the means of deliverance of his disciples. He guided the disciple whether a monk or a śrāvaka, to the right path to salvation. The guru initiated the lay disciples (guḍḍa or guḍḍi) to the śrāvaka vratas *157 and later into the order. *158 When the disciple desired to invite death the consent of the guru was indispensable.*159 The preceptor then guided the disciple, whether a śramaṇa or a śrāvaka through to the successful completion of the vow.*160

Adoration of the preceptor grew into a cult by itself. Thus memorial stones were erected in honour of preceptors by lay and spiritual disciples. One such instance is provided by the inscription from Chikka Hanasoge of the tenth century which commemorate the ritual vow of Ēlācārya of Eṇṇekula who subsisted on water for a month, observed the five vows and and died by samādhi maraṇa. This niṣidhi was set up by his disciple Kalnele dēva.*161 Between the seventh and ninth centuries numerous monks and nuns chose to end their lives by accepting ritual vows of samādhi maraṇa or sanyasana on the small hill at Śravaṇabēḷgōḷa. Numerous niṣidhis on the rocks here commemorate their death *162 but in the majority of cases, the name of the person who set up these niṣidhis is not recorded.

Nuns : The order of nuns (āryika or kanti) was inferior to that of the monks in all the sects of Jainism. It was held that a newly ordained monk was superior to a nun of longstanding and was worthy of respect from her. The ultimate authority in the case of nuns was a male figure in the office of ācārya and the pravartini and gaṇinī who headed the order of nuns were subordinate to him.*163

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*157 Vaddaradhane, op.cit., p.55, 57; Ponna's Santi Puranam I.87.

*158 Vaddaradhane op.cit p.123.

*159 Ibid, p.126, S.Settar, Inviting Death loc.cit., p.153.

*160 Vaḍḍārādhane, op.cit, pp 126-27.

*161 EC V (newed) Kn 35.

*162 EC II (newed) SB 1, 2, 14, 15, 16, 24, 25, 68, 85, 89, 90, 91, 94, 98, etc.

*163 S. B. Deo, A History of Jaina Monachism from Inscriptions and literature, Poona (1954-55). p.501.

Nuns were not permitted to adopt nudity even among the Digambaras on grounds of their physical disabilities. This was the principal reason why the Digambaras, for whom nudity was an essential prerequisite for moksa, denied the ability of nuns to attain moksa in the same birth.*164

The inferiority of the nuns was also reflected by the fact that it was not permitted for them to study certain texts. Even among the Śvētāmbaras the texts Drstivāda, Drstivāda, Mahāparijña and Arunōpapātra were out of bounds for the nuns. Drstivāda contained information on spells, and hence since women were considered to be of fickle nature and lacking in fortitude, nuns were not allowed to study them.*165 Similarly, among the Digambaras, books attributed to Ganadharas,*166 Pratyēkabuddhas,*167 Śrutakēvalins,*168 and tenets propounded by holders of the knowledge of the ten Pūrvas *169 were to be studied only by monks.

The subordination of nuns to the ācāryas is indicated in inscriptions as well. An early seventh century nisidhi from Śravanabēlgōla records the death of Nāgamati ganti, a Jaina Nun who was the disciple of Mōni guravadigal. *170 A tenth century nisidhi at Ankanāthapura (Hole Narsipur taluk, Hāssan district) records the death of Dēviyabbe kanti the disciple of Prabhācandra siddhānta bhatāra. *171 The Kadūr Pillar inscription of AD 971 records the death of Pāmbabbe Kantiyar, the elder sister of Būtuga II, Ganga who is said to belong to the Dēśiya gana of the Kondakundānvaya (Mūla Sangha).

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*164 Ibid, p 497, Supra, Section A(I) p.328f

*165 S.B. Deo, op.cit, p .492. *166 Direct disciple of the Tīrthankaras.

*167 Mendicant who attains omniscience without the direct aid of a teacher.

*168 Mendicant who has mastered the entire Jaina canon including both the Purvas and the Angas.

*169 An ancient now non-extant part of the Jaina canon.

*170 EC II (new ed) SB 23 *171 EC VIII (new ed) HN 10

She was the disciple of Nānabbe Kaṇṭiyar and Abhayaṇandi Paṇḍita bhaṭārar.*172

However in some cases only the gaṇa affiliation of a nun is specified without mentioning her preceptors. Several seventh century epitaphs on the small hill at Śravaṇabēḷgōḷa commemorate the death by observance of a ritual vow, of nuns of the Navilūr sangha. 'Rajnīmati gaṇṭi of the Āji gaṇa (order of nuns) of the Navilūr Sangha.*173 Anantamati gaṇṭiyar,*174 Prabhāvati and Amitamati *175 were some of the nuns thus commemorated. In all these cases the preceptors are not mentioned. A tenth century niṣidhi at Siddagānahaḷḷi (Kaḍūr taluk, Chikmagaḷūr district ) commemorates Bālambā Kaṇṭi of the Navilūr gaṇa.*176 Once again no preceptor is mentioned. This appears to be a convention of the Navilūr Sangha since the majority of the monks of this monastic order too did not mention their preceptor.*177 Similarly the Koḷattūr Sangha also does not appear to have the convention of acknowledging the guru. *178

Although nuns thus appear to be subordinate to monks in the Jaina monastic organization, we sometimes find them being entrusted independently with the land grants for basadis in effect vesting the nun with the management of the temple and its landed estate. The Narasapur copper plates of AD 902-03 provide us with one such instance gifts for a basadi constructed at Kaṇṇamangaḷa by Ayyama Dēnandākar were entrusted to Kamungaṟe Kaṇṭiyar the female disciple of Maṇḍala bhaṭārar of Uttanindipura which in turn was the disciple of Kaḍahūra bhaṭāra.*179 The Lakshmidēvihaḷḷi inscription (Arsīkere taluk, Hāssan district) of the tenth century

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*172 EC VI (old ed) Kd 1. *173 EC II (old ed) SB 112

*174 Ibid, SB 113. *175 Ibid, SB 132. *176 EC VI (old ed) Kd 159 of AD 961.

*177 EC II (newed) SB 117, 118, 123, 124. The exception is SB 121 which commemorates the death of Vṛṣabhanandi the disciple of Mauniācārya of Navilūra Sangha.

*178 Ibid SB 108, 111.

*179 EC X (old ed) Kl 90

registers a grant of land for the Biḍuga Jinālaya by Māraka which was entrusted to Paramabbe Kanti.*180 In least one case a nun appears to have had a layman as a desciple. This was Mākabbe Kanti whose epitaph was set up by Bīca gāvuṇḍa of Mādiba as paroksa vinaya in AD 1013.*181

Thus, although Jaini is right in holding that the vows of the uttama śrāvikā nuns were given the status of Mahāvratas only as a matter of courtesy*182 while in fact they were considered incapable of achieving salvation in the same birth owing to mental and physical disabilities peculiar to their sex;*183 in practice nuns enjoyed considerable influence. This was perhaps a consequence of the patronage extended to the Digambaras by aristocratic women many of whom took vows as nuns. The pre-eminence of women in the political sphere in the second phase was thus reflected in their enhanced position in the ecclesiastical organization as well.

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*180 EC V (old ed) Ak 209.

*181 EC IV (new ed) Hs 43

*182 P.S Jaini, op.cit., p.39, fn 14.

*183 Ibid, pp 34-35, pp 120-134, 141-146

(V) JAINA RITUALS AND OBSERVANCES :

TEMPLE RITUALS : We have very few epigraphic references to specific Jaina temple rituals. But this deficiency is made up by the literary works which provide us with a fairly detailed description of their rituals.

The most complete description is provided by the Ādi Purāṇam of Pampa and the Cāvuṇḍarāyapurāṇam. These works mention several mahāpūjas offered by different classes of the laity. Thus cakravartis are said to organize the Kalpadruma-mahāmaha, mahāmaṇḍalikas and other chief princes (makuṭabaddhar) the Caturmukhamahāmaha. The ardhamaṇḍalika offered the Sarvatōbhadramahāmaha while the various Indras offered the Aindradhvaja *184. Details of these various mahāpūjas are not given. But we do have further information on the aṣṭāhnika mahāmaha which all classes of the laity were expected to offer.

The aṣṭāhnika pūjā was major festival of the Jainas. It was celebrated over the last eight days of the month of Āṣāḍha, Kārttika and Phālguna and thus coincided with the summer, autumn and winter harvests *185. The rite was also known as Nandīśvara Dvīpa. In the story of Siridiṇṇa bhaḷāra in the Vaḍḍārādhane we have a reference to the special rites of worship of Arhad bhaṭṭāraka during the Phālguna Nandīśvara *186 Likewise, the Śāntipurāṇam of Ponna advocates the performance of Nandīśvara Dvīpa and other major pūjās as a means of obtaining merit. Accordingly, Śrīdēva, who in a later birth became Śāntinātha Tīrthankara instituted the aṣṭāhnika pūjā *187.

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*184 Pampa's Ādi Purāṇam XV.13 Vacana,

*185 R.N.Nandi, Religious Institutions and cults....loc.cit, p 37

*186 Vaḍḍārādhane Op.cit, p 150

*187 Ponna's Śānti Purāṇam VII. 31 Vacana-

One of the earliest references to the performance of the <u>aṣṭāhnika pūjā</u> occurs in the Halsi charter of Ravivarman Kadamba in the early fifth century. This makes provision for the performance of this ritual in the month of Kārttika *188. Similarly, the Peggūr inscription (Vīrājpēṭ taluk, Coorg district) of AD 978 which registers the grant of Peggaḍūr and Posavadaga for the maintenance of the <u>basadi</u> at Peggaḍūr, mentions the <u>Phālguna Nandīśvara</u>. The grant was made on the last day (<u>tale divasa</u>) of the festival) *189. An eight day fast (<u>aṣṭōpavāsa</u>) worship (<u>arcanā</u>) and <u>abhiṣēka</u> appear to have been the major features of the <u>aṣṭāhnika pūjā</u>. This is indicated by the performance of these rites by Vinayamati, a <u>śrāvikā</u> in the <u>Vaḍḍārādhane</u> *190. While these were special festivals sponsored by the wealthier members of the laity, the daily ritual consisted of the offering of <u>pādya</u> (water to wash the feet), <u>gandha</u> (sandalpaste), <u>akṣatā</u> (consecrated raw rice), and <u>dhūpa</u> (incense), <u>dīpa</u> (lamp) and <u>phala</u> (fruits), and the bathing (<u>snāpana</u> and <u>abhiṣēka</u>) of the image with clarified butter (<u>ghrita</u>), milk (<u>Kṣīra</u>), tender coconut water (<u>nālikēra tōya</u>) mango juice (<u>āmra rasa</u>) sugarcane juice (<u>ikṣu rasa</u>) and diluted sandalpaste (<u>gandhodaka</u>) thrice a day *191.

Cāvuṇḍarāyapurāṇam advocates the offerings of <u>gandha</u>, <u>puṣpa</u>, <u>akṣatā</u>, etc. to the Jinas by the laity *192. A common motif in Jaina stories is a maiden visiting a Jaina shrine with articles of worship after observing a fast. After duly worshipping the image and saluting the ascetics resident there, the girl returns home and offers the objects sanctified by worship to her parents, who, noting her youthful form, deliberate on a suitable match for her. Thus in the <u>Vaḍḍārādhane</u>, in the story of Sukauśalasvāmi, Sukēśinī, the daughter of Nāgadatta śeṭṭi visits the Sahasrakūṭa Jinālaya with objects of worship often observing the vow (<u>nontu</u>) of <u>aṣṭamī</u>. There she is noticed by the king Gandhabhājana who later seeks her hand in marriage. Returning home from the temple,

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*188 IA Vol. VI, p 30. *189 EC I (new ed) No. 98.

*190 <u>Vaddaradhane</u>, Op.cit., P.151. *191 Pampa's <u>Ādi Purāṇam</u> XV.13. Vacana.

*192 <u>Cāvuṇḍarāyapurāṇam</u>, Op.cit, p 211.

Sukēśenī offers the Siddhasese (sancti fied remnants) to her parents *193. Similarly, in the story of Kārttika Ṛṣi, the six daughters of king Agnirāja of Kṛttikāpura observe the fast during the Phālguna Nandīśvara and then visit the basadi with objects of worship, salute the deities and ascetics accept fresh vows and then return home to offer the siddhasese to their parents *194. Likewise, in Ponna's śānti Purāṇam, Svayamprabhā, the princess of Rathanūpuracakravāḷa observes a fast on Śrīpañcamī and goes to the Siddhakūṭa and has the Jinābhiṣeka performed. Returning home, she offers the siddhasese to her parents and brother *195. All this would indicate that it was a common practice among lay devotees, particularly the women, to carry objects of worship from home, offer them to the Jina and return with the sanctified remnants as enjoined in the Cāvuṇḍarāyapurāṇam.

The abhiṣēka ritual formed a part of the majority of rites concerning Jina worship. We have seen that it formed a part of the aṣṭāhnika pūjā and the daily ritual in Jaina temples. In its most developed formed it was a festival by itself. This aspect is reflected in the Varāngacarita which describes the ritual in great detail.*196 At its simplest, the rite involved ablutions of the image of the Arhat by śrāvaka himself *197. Alternatively, the śrāvaka or śrāvikā could institute the ritual at a shrine as was done by princess Svayamprabhā *198. Likewise, the king Gandhabhājana institutes the abhiṣēka among other rites at the Sahasrakūṭa Jinālaya caused to be constructed by him *199.

The Kumasi grāma inscription (Shimoga taluk, district) of c AD 950 which records the construction of a Jinagēha at the instance of Lokkiyabbe of Pombucca also registers grants for Jinābhiṣēka by certain gauḍas and śeṭṭis *200.

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*193 Vaddaradhane, Op. cit, p 77. *194 Ibid, p.159

*195 Santi Puranam v.18

RITUAL STAFF IN JAINA TEMPLES :

Our inscriptions do not clearly inform us as to who officiated as priests in Jaina temples. They merely mention the Jaina monks who were entrusted with the management of the shrines. However, Pampa's Ādi Purāṇam in describing the creation of the brāhmaṇa varṇa by Bharata informs us that pūjā, vàrta (the right means of livelihood which included asi, maṣi, kṛṣi, vaṇigvidyā and śilpa), datti (various kinds of dāna), svādhyāya (which included study and teaching of śāstras to others), samyama (the observance of the Pañcāṇuvratas and other vows) and tapas (fasts and other forms of penance) were set down as the established observances (kulācāra) for the brāhmaṇa varṇa *201. Thus it would appear that brāhmaṇas were the officiating priests in Jaina temples too. This is supported by the Cāvuṇḍarāyapurāṇam which states that brāhmaṇas were invited to officiate at ceremonies of the lifecycle such as the garbhādāna-kriya, the lipi-saṁkhyāna-saṁgraha-kriyā, etc. *202.

In the modern period, Dundas observes that the Digambaras of South India employ priests designated as Upadhyes, who, carry out pūjā involving decoration and anointment of the image. Among the Śvetāmbaras, in contrast, the lay devotees conduct such ceremonies themselves and temple servants called pūjāris are employed merely to clear up after any ritual. He notes, further, that worship with the eight articles (dravya pūjā) is the prerogative of the laity only. The ascetics are debarred from direct contact with the image because of their physical impurity, having abandoned the normal social activity of washing. They confine themselves to bhāva pūjā (inner worship of contemplation).*203.

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*196 Cited by R.N. Nandi, Religious Institutions and cults, loc.cit., pp.34-36.

*197 Ponna's Śānti Purāṇam VII.30.

*198 Supra, fn.195.

*199 Vaḍḍārādhane, op.cit.p 76.

*200 EC VII (old ed) Sh 164.

*201 Ādi Purāṇam XV. 13 vacana

*202 Cāvuṇḍarāyapurāṇam, op.cit. pp.213 ff.

*203 Paul Dundas, The Jains, Routledge (London and New York, 1998), pp 175-176

While our sources do mention worship conducted by the lay devotees in person, the context appears to be a domestic shrine and not a temple. In temples we get the impression that ritual specialists were employed; probably the Jaina brāhmaṇas. The ban on dravya pūjā by ascetics though not clearly stated, appears to be borne out by inscriptions, which never mention a monk or a nun engaged in ritual activities of this kind.

Neither literary nor epigraphic sources give us any further information on the ritual staff of the Jaina temples. Chenakka Yeligar has opined on the basis of an inscription from Manne that Jaina temples to a employed courtesans (dēvasūḷe) *204. But this, if at all, wa a later development, for none of the inscriptions of the period AD 400 to AD 1030 refers. to them.

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*204 Chenakka Yeligar, Śāsanagaḷalli Karnāṭakada Strīsamāja (in Kannada), Ph.D. Thesis submitted to the Karnataka University, Dharwad, (1980), p 86.

## B) VEDIC BRAHMANISM

I) **The First Phase**: The first phase of the period under study (c.AD 400-AD 725) was marked by royal patronage of the brāhmaṇas well versed in vedic lore. This was the case not only with the Gaṅgas but also with their contemporaries the Kadambas, the Pallavas, and a little later, the Bādāmi Cāḷukyas as well. The influence of Vedic Brāhmaṇism in this phase was pervasive. It can be seen not merely in the patronage of śrōtriya brāhmaṇas but also in the claim to gōtra affiliation by royal dynasties and in the performance of Vedic sacrifices and rites such as the aśvamēdha and the hiraṇyagarbha*[205].

The brāhmaṇas who received land grants in the first phase are identified in terms of their gōtra affiliation as well as the specific branch of Vedic lore that they had specialized in. Thus the Bendiganahalli copper plates of Kṛṣṇavarman of the Kaivāra branch of the Gangas record the grant of Karu-ura as brahmadēya to Mātṛśarman of the Rathītara sagōtra and Taittirīya caraṇa*[206] while his Bangalore copper plates record the grant of Kuḍiliyam grāma to the six sons of Bhūti Śarma of Vārākya gōtra and Chāndogya caraṇa*[207]. Similarly, Divākara Śarma, the donee of the Chaluvanahaḷḷi copper plates of Mādhava II. (Talakāḍ branch) is said to belong to the Vatsa gōtra and Vājasaneyi śākhā*[208]. The Kūṭalūr Grant of Mādhavavarman (Paṟuvi branch) registers the gift of the village to Kumāra śarman and Bhava śarman of Kauśika gōtra and Taittiriya caraṇa*[209]. The Kudagere copper plates of Vijayśiva Māndhātṛvarman of the close of the fourth century*[210] record the grant of twenty nivarttanas of wet land to Dēvaśarma of Kauṇḍinya gōtra and Dattānuyōga, who is described as Taittirīya brahmācāri. The Kaḍagaṭṭūr plates of the fourth regnal year of Durvinīta record the grant of Tippēru village in Perukhoga and Vaṇṇe viṣaya to Skanda Śarma of Bhāradvāja gōtra,

*205. Supra, Chapter III, Section B, pp.149ff

*206. K.V. Ramesh, Inscriptions of the Western Gangas, No. 5.

*207. Ibid No. 6

*208. Ibid No. 157

*209. Ibid No. 4, 11.10-11

*210. EC VII (old ed) Sk 29.

Taittirīya caraṇa and Āpastambha sūtra. This brāhmaṇa is further described as knowing the meaning of mantras and sūtras and the essence of sacred precepts as being well-versed in the six auxilliary branches of vedic study and being engaged only in the practice of his own dharma*211 . Sēna Śarma and his son, the beneficiaries of the Nallālam grant charter of the same monarch belonged to the Bhāradvāja gōtra, Taittirīya caraṇa and Prāvacana kalpa*212 .

Some charters describe the grantees as "adept at self-control, religious austerity and penance, in study and teaching, performing and conducting sacrifices, pronouncing blessings and curses." This is the case with the Cukuṭṭūr Grant of Simhavarman (Kaivāra branch)*213 which records the gift of Cukuṭṭūr grāma to seventy-four brāhmaṇas some of whom are identified by name and gōtra affiliation. The seventy-four brāhmaṇa donees of the Koḍunjeṟuvu charter of Avinīta*214 are also described thus.

Some inscriptions go further and describe the brāhmaṇa grantees as "incessantly drinking soma juice" and "well-versed in the lore of performing sacrifices". This is the case with the Gummareḍḍipura plates of Durvinīta*215 . The performance of various hōmas and yajñas by brāhmaṇas in agrahāras is also borne out by the Pampa Bhārata wherein Pampa's ancestor, Mādhava Sōmayāji, an inhabitant of Vengipaḻu with its associated agrahāras of Vasantakoṭṭūru, Niḍuguṇḍi and Vikramapura, is said to have performed numerous yajñas notably the sarvakratu*216 .

*211. K.V. Ramesh op. cit, No. 20, 11. 38-43

*212. Ibid No. 25.

*213. Ibid No. 7, 11. 11-12

*214. Ibid No. 15, 11 28-34

*215. Ibid No. 24, 11. 28-34.

*216. Pampa Bhārata XIV 40-44.

By and large, however, such rituals were commissioned by kings particularly those of obscure origins as a means of validating their power. Thus Kadamba Kṛṣṇavarman II is said to have been anointed by the waters of the asvamēdha sacrifice*[217]. Similarly, Durvinīta is said to have performed numerous special sacrifices every year and to have been anointed by the waters of the great sacrifice called the hiraṇyagarbha*[218].

**(II) The Second Phase (AD 725 - AD 1030)**

Patronage of Śrōtrīya brāhmaṇas continued in the second phase. This was in particular a feature of the reign of Śrīpuruṣa. Thereafter royal and aristocratic patronage to Vaidika brāhmaṇas declined significantly. Brāhmaṇas adjusted to the new situation by entering the service of the various ruling lineages as administrators and military vassals. As a powerful section of the landed artistocracy they also patronized puranic Hindu cults of Śiva, Viṣṇu and the mother-goddesses. In many cases they were entrusted with temple management as well.

Among the śrōtrīya brāhmaṇas who received grants of land and villages in the second phase we may mention Sakkhare Śarman, a Sōmayāji who received Attigundūr grāma from Śrīpuruṣa Mahārāja*[219]. Similarly, the Jāvaḷi Plates of AD 750-51 record the grant of Bēlpūr village to 120 brāhmaṇas who were well versed in the four branches of learning, masters of the Vēdas and Vēdāṅgas and knew well the conventions of the Dharmaśāstras*[220]. The donor, once again, was Śrīpuruṣa. Other instances of brahmadēya grants by this monarch have been enumerated earlier*[221].

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*217. K.V. Ramesh, op. cit. No. 15, 11. 14-15

*218. Ibid No. 25, 1.32, also Supra, Chapter III, Section B, p/150, fn. 264.

*219. EC IX (old ed) Nl 33 of the eighth century.

*220. K. V. Ramesh, op. cit. No. 43

*221. Supra, Chapter IV, Section F (I)

After Śrīpuruṣa, patronage of srotriya brāhmaṇas was continued by Yuvarāja Mārasimha the son of Śivamāra II who granted the village Tippērūr as brahmadēya to Ponnaḍi the oḍeya of Ārppoḷa at the request of Nayadhīra the son of Kali Nōḷambādhirāja Kolliyarasa*222. However, while the Gañjam copper plates specify the gōtra of Ponnaḍi, his expertise in Vedic study is not clearly mentioned. But he appears to have been the chief of an agrahāra. The Koṭṭimba grant of yuvarāja Mārasimha in AD 799 also registers a brahmadēya grant of a village. The donee was Śrīdhara of Bhāradvāja gōtra who is described as a performer of sacrifices*223.

The Perjjaraṅgi charter of the first regnal year of Rācamalla I of AD 819 offers another instance of a second phase grant to a śrōtrīya brāhmaṇa. The donee was Nāgadēva bhaṭṭa who was "deeply versed in the Ṛgvēda his mind solely bent on doing good to others, and engaged in serving gods and brahmanas". His father Tadanguṭṭi Sōmayāji Bhaṭṭa was skilled in the performance of all sacrifices and is described as ever-tasting the sōma juice"*224.

On the other hand Śivārya the beneficiary of the Gaṭṭavāḍi plates of AD 904 a brāhmaṇa of Kauśika gōtra is described merely as "of pure character, free from sin, worthy of worship, having fully realized the three objects of human desire, in policy like Bṛhaspati and a skillful pilot in steering the ship, the kingdom of the Gaṅgas"*225. His forefathers had migrated to Tānagundūr in Vanavāsi viṣaya from Ahicchatra and belonged to the Viśvāmitrāghamarshaṇa pravara. His grandfather, Dhīvāma Śrīdhara is eulogized as 'being well-versed in the whole meaning of the three Vēdas'*226. Thus while Śivārya hailed from a śrōtrīya brāhmaṇa family, he appears to have entered the service of the Gaṅga as an

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*222. EC VI (new ed) Sr. 66

*223. K.V. Ramesh, op. cit, No. 50

*224. EC V (new ed) Kn 49, 11 105-108.

*225. EC III (new ed) Nj 402, 11. 73-75

*226. Ibid, 11. 69-71

administrator. If the beneficiary of the Kerehaḷḷi plates[*227] also Śivāryya by name, was identical with the donee of the Gaṭṭavāḍi plates, then it would suggest that brāhmaṇas could serve ruling lineages in multiple capacities, as purōhita (as participation in the coronation of Nītimārga Ereyappa would imply)[*228] as a military vassal (as reference to the maintenance of a thousand elephants would indicate)[*229] and a royal counsellor (as the Gaṭṭavāḍi plates attest)[*230].

Another instance of a royal counsellor of brāhmaṇa descent being granted a village comes from the Kūḍlūr plates of Mārasimha II of AD 962-63. The grantee was Vādighanghala Bhaṭṭa of Parāśara gōtra and Caḷukivaḍica caraṇa. Like Śivāryya, his forbears too had migrated from the North, from Pippala agrahāra in Vārāṭa dēśa. Like Śivāryya again, Vādighanghala bhaṭṭa's father was apparently a warrior since he is described as "the delighter of the lord of the Vārāṭa contry with his fierce valour"[*231]. Vādighanghala Bhaṭṭa himself was an advisor of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III and is said to have won the esteem of all his Maṇḍalikas and Sāmantas. The difference between Śivāryya and Vādighanghala Bhaṭṭa lies in the fact that the latter was Jaina preceptor as well. In this respect he resembles Pampa in pride in both his brāhmaṇa descent and Jaina faith[*232]. Vādighaṅghala Bhaṭṭa received from Mārasimha II the gift of Bāgiyūr village which carried an income of twenty gaḍyāṇas in cash and twelve khaṇḍugas in grain. This gift appears to have been in appreciation of his sevices as a counsellor and were not meant for a Jaina shrine. In contrast, the Kāḍalūr grant of the same monarch is expressly stated to have been made for the purpose of facilitating the conduct of worship at the Jaina temple[*233]. The gift of Bāgiyur to Vādighaṅghala Bhaṭṭa may be more aptly likened to the gift

*227. EC IV (new ed) Ch 354.

*228. Ibid, 1.77.

*229. Ibid, 1.76

*230. EC III (new ed) Nj 402

*231. K.V. Ramesh, op. cit, No. 138, V. 39.

*232. Pampa Bhārata XIV. 50, 59.

*233. K.V. Ramesh, op. cit., No. 139

of Dharmapura agrahāra to Pampa by Arikēsari as a reward for his services as poet and warrior[*234].

Brāhmaṇa participation in administration was not a new phenomenon as we have seen earlier[*235]. Indeed, the appointment of high-ranking śrōtriya brāhmaṇas to high administrative and military posts is recommended in such texts as the Manusmṛti, the Agni Purāṇa and the Matsya Purāṇa. [*236] But in the first phase the Vedic credentials of such brāhmaṇas were stressed as the Keregalūr plates demonstrate[*237]. In the second phase the personal qualifications of the individual brāhmaṇa in government service is not stressed but the fact that they came from śrōtriya brāhmaṇa families is emphasized. In the second phase with decreasing patronage to Vedic brāhmaṇism it was perhpas sufficient for brāhmaṇas entering government service to emphasize their lineage-as coming from śrōtriya brāhmaṇa families already enjoying superior rights to land in an agrahāra. Their personal qualifications as having studied the vēdas was possibly not as important now as it was earlier.

Indeed it is interesting to note that even the Kukkanūr plates of Mārasimha II of AD 968-69[*238] which record a brahmadēya grant of a village to a brāhmaṇa who was apparently not in government service, do not specify the Vedic lore in which he had specialized. Partly this may be due to the fact that the donor, Kundaṇasāmi, the sister of Mārasimha, was Jaina by faith and thus specialization in Vedic study was not considered essential. In part it may also be a reflection of the existing situation wherein Vedic Brāhmaṇism was declining and temple-based puranic cults were at the height of their popularity.

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*234. Pampa Bhārata XIV 50, 59

*235. Supra, Chapter III, Section B, Chapter IV, Section F.

*236. Cited by S. Jaiswal, "Studies in Early Indian Social History: Trends and Possibilities", in IHR, Vol. VI, Nos. 1-2 (1979-80) p 25, fn. 2

*237. EC VIII (new ed) Hn 10

*238. K.V. Ramesh, op.cit, No. 159

Nevertheless, private donations to brāhmaṇas continued to be made throughout the second phase. Thus the ninth century Ghaṭamāranahaḷḷi inscription (Sidlaghaṭṭa taluk, Kōlār district) records grants by Nōḷambarasa for the feeding of brāhmaṇas by the Jana (? Mahājana)[*239]. Likewise Śivārapaṭṭaṇa inscription of c.AD 925 records a cash gift of sixteen gadyāṇas from Nāgavyya and Koṇḍayya the sons of Tombuvayya for feeding two brāhmaṇas[*240]. The gift was received by the Mahājanas of Meṇḍimaṅgaḷa. Similarly, the Kaisōḍi vīrgal of AD 951-52 records a gift of gold to the Mahājanas of Tāgarati by the hero Bellangara Dāsavarma prior to his death[*241]. Likewise the Beḷagi inscription (Sorab taluk, Shimoga district) of AD 964 records the cash gift of 55 pon gadyāṇas to the Mahājanas of Eḷase by Kōṭeyamma Gōsahasra[*242]. The Uttanūr inscription of AD 968 records gift of a hundred gadyāṇas to the Mahājanas of Uttanūr for the purpose of feeding five brāhmaṇas. The donor was Nōḷamba Śeṭṭi[*243].

Thus although royal and aristocratic patronage to śrōtrīya brāhmaṇas was declining, private grants to the Mahājanas of agrahāras continued throughout the second phase as an expression of piety.

**(III) Interfusion of Vedic and Puranic Elements**

We have some evidence of śrōtrīya brāhmaṇa participation in the Purāṇic forms of worship in the first phase. Several early Gaṅga rulers are described as devotees of particular Hindu deities. Thus Viṣṇugōpa is said to have meditated on the feet of Nārāyaṇa while his son Mādhava II was a worshipper of Tryambaka[*244]. Similarly, Durvinīta is said to have meditated at the feet of

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*239. ASMAR 1929, No. 36, p. 103

*240. EC X (old ed) Kl 9.

*241. EC VIII (old ed) Sb 570

*242. ASMAR 1929, No. 76, p. 150

*243. EC X (old ed) Mb.122

*244. EC X (old ed) Mr. 73

Kamalōdara (Viṣṇu) in his Bangalore Museum plates*[245] while his Peṇṇa-ūr Grant*[246] states that his inner soul was purified by his obeisance to the goddess Kātyāyanī. R.N. Nandi has suggested that in this early period, worship of Hindu deities was conducted in private chapels which were serviced by orthodox śrōtrīya brāhmaṇas since regular temple worship had not developed at this stage*[247]. This would mean the involvement of śrōtrīya brāhmaṇs in Purāṇic forms of worship acting as purōhitas of important lineages.

However, some inscriptions from the Shimoga district do indicate the existence of temples as early as the fourth century A.D. at least, if not earlier. The Malavaḷḷi inscription of the late third century of Kadamba Śivaskandavarman records a re-grant of several villages which had fallen to disuse, for the deity Maṭṭapaṭṭi dēva*[248]. The inscription was inscribed on an eight-sided pillar at Malavaḷḷi*[249] (Shikarpur taluk, Shimoga district) which also bore an inscription of Vinhukaḍḍa Cuṭukulānanda Śātakarṇi for the same deity*[250]. The temple itself is no longer in existence now but it was apparently a recipient of royal patronage at least from the period of the late Sātavāhanas.

Similarly, the Tāḷagunda Pillar Inscription of the late fourth century A.D. mentions the temple of Mahādēva situated at the Sthānagundūr agrahāra which is said to have been patronized by Śātakarṇi and other kings*[251]. This temple was evidently the Praṇavēśvara temple at Tāḷagunda which bears inscriptions of Prabhāvatī, the queen of Kadamba Mṛgēśavarman and of Ravivarman*[252]. This would date it at least to the close of the fourth

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*245. EC IX (old ed) Bn 141, 1.36

*246. ASMAR 1932, pp 131-143, 1.37

*247. R.N. Nandi, The Social Roots of Religion in Ancient India, Calcutta (1986), p. 79.

*248. EC VII (old ed) Sk. 364.

*249. ASMAR 1941, p. 36

*250. EC VII (old ed) Sk. 263

*251. Ibid Sk 176

*252. ASMAR 1932, pp. 56-57

century and if the Pillar inscription be credited it was in existence as early as the third century A.D. Excavations at Banavāsi (Sirsi taluk, N.Kanara district) have revealed the existence of an apsidal temple there which, unfortunately, has not been dated[*253].

In all these cases except at the Banavāsi temple we have clear evidence of their association with vedic brāhmaṇas. The grant for the Maṭṭapaṭṭi dēva was entrusted to a brāhmaṇa Śrī Nāgadatta of Koṇinya gōtra (Kaundinya gotra) while the location of the Praṇavēśvara temple at an agrahāra would indicate that the brahmadēya sabhā controlled it. Likewise, the Keregular Plates of Mādhava II (Talakāḍ branch) of the fifth century record the gift of (an image of) Viṣṇu along with all ornaments (sarvābharaṇām) as śālābhōga to brāhmaṇas who are described as being "devoted to the six duties of performing and officiating at sacrifices, studying and teaching the Vēdas, engaged in making offerings to the gods, in the study of the śāstras, the performance of pitṛyajñas, offering food to animals (baliyajña) and congregational services"[*254]. Śālābhōga has been interpreted as "gift for the congregation hall" by M.H. Krishna[*255]. The gift of the image of Viṣṇu might indicate that it was worshipped there. Here again the association with vaidika brāhmaṇas is noteworthy.

Orthodox brāhmaṇas also appear to have adopted the popular practice of building memorials to decreased heroes. A fragmentary inscription from Aihoḷe in seventh century Kannaḍa characters on the facade of a cave states that the cavern was excavated by the Mahājanas presumbaly of Aihoḷe as a memorial temple to Satyāśraya Mahārāja, i.e. Pulakēśi II[*256]. This practice of constructing memorial shrines to the deceased continued in the second phase as well, but the lead as usually taken by the relatives of the dead[*257].

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*253. I.A.R. 1970-71, p. 29

*254. EC VIII (new ed) Hn 10.

*255. ASMAR 1930, pp 113 ff.

*256. I.A.R. 1982-83, p. 119

*257. Infra, Section F

One of the exceptions to this is an inscription from Āvani (Muḷbāgāl taluk, Kōlār district) which records that Mahēndra bhaṭṭa constructed a small temple ('Kiri degula') for Mahēndra Kaliyuga Rudra*[258]. While the surname of Bhaṭṭa would indicate that the bearer was a brāhmaṇa, the identity of Mahēndra Kaliyuga Rudra is unclear. It might denote Mahēndrādhirāja Nōḷamba who was slain in battle at the end of the ninth century*[259]. But it is more likely that he was the sthānādhipati of Āvanya sthāna, the predecessor of Tribhuvana karttāra bhaṭāra who ruled Āvanya from c.AD 920 to AD 961*[260]. It is interesting to note that while the inscription recording the death of Tribhuvana Karttāra bhaṭāra was inscribed on a rock to the west of Giṇḍi tīrtha at Āvanya, the present record is inscribed on a rock to the west of Āvani tīrtha. This similarity in the location of the memorial inscriptions would seem to support our contention that Mahēndra Kaliyuga Rudra was like Tribhuvana Karttāra bhaṭāra, the sthānādhipati of Āvani. At all events this inscription would indicate that continuation of the practice of constructing memorial shrines by brāhmaṇas, a practice first attested to by the Aihoḷe inscription cited above.

The Hecche inscription (Sorab taluk, Shimoga district) of c. AD 991 records the grant of twenty-four Pura drammas which were entrusted to the Mahājanas of Eḷase probably for the conduct of worship at the memorial of vēḷe Akaṭega who sacrificed his life to secure for his master Śāntivarma of Heṟdese an heir*[261]. Here again we note the association of Mahājanas with a memorial shrine. In the second phase the corporate body of the agrahāras frequently acted as patron of temples and sometimes were entrusted with dēvabhōga grants as well.

Among the grants made by the Mahājanas we may mention the Puṇajūr stone inscription*[262] (Chāmrājnagar taluk, Mysore district) and the Maddūr inscription*[263] (Yelandur

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*258. EC X (old ed) Mb 65. of c. AD 920

*259. Ibid, Mb. 38 of c. AD 890

*260. Ibid, Mb 67

*261. EC VIII (old ed) Sb 479

*262. EC IV (new ed) Ch 241

taluk, Mysore district) both of AD 982 which record identical grants of ten khaṇḍugas of wet land by the Thousand Brāhmaṇas of Mālūr and Maḷdūr respetively for the temples constructed by Mallayya and Pollayya. Similarly, the Nārāyaṇasvāmi temple at Mālūrpaṭna (Channapaṭna taluk, Bangalore district) received several dēvadāna grants from the sabhā of Irājentirasinga Caturvēdimaṅgaḷam (Periya Maḷavūr)[*264], Śōḷamādēvī Caturvēdimaṅgaḷam (Vandūr)[*265] and Irājarāja Caturvēdimaṅgaḷam (Kūḍalūr)[*266]. These grants of three khaṇḍugas each were meant for the daily offerings of two nālis of rice (ariśi) to the deity.

The sabhā of Śōlamādēvi caturvēdimaṅgaḷam was also the donor in an inscription of AD 1015 from Mālūrpaṭna[*267] which records grants for the deity Arumōliśvaram Uḍaiyar at Nigarili śōḷapuram, a suburb of Maṇalūr.

Brāhmaṇas were also involved in the construction of temples. Mention has already been made of the Mahājanas of Aihoḷe who had a memorial shrine prepared for Pulakēśi II in the seventh century[*268]. Similarly, the Sāsarvaḷḷi inscription (Shikārpur taluk, Shimoga district) appears to indicate that the Mahājanas of Tānagundūr joined Aycayya gāvuṇḍa of Sasagavaḷḷi in the excavation of a rockcut (Jari) temple for which the gāvuṇḍa made some grant[*269]. The Tāgarati agrahāra inscription of AD 1027. (Shikārpur taluk) records the construction of a temple of Nārāyaṇadēva by Pērbārva Mādhavayya, the son of the ūroḍeya of Tāgaracce[*270].

*263. Ibid Y1.40

*264. EC IX (old ed) Cp. 128 of AD 1007

*265. Ibid, Cp 132. of AD 1007.

*266. Ibid Cp 130 of AD 1030

*267. Ibid, Cp 139

*268. Supra, fn.256.

*269. ASMAR 1942, No. 61 of AD 1001-2

*270. EC VII (old ed) Sk 53.

Pērbārva is the Kannaḍa equivalent of the Sanskrit term Mahājana*[271]. Here then, we have an instance of a member of the corporate body of an agrahāra constructing a temple.

We also have several instances of the sabhā being entrusted with grants for temples. The Kakkarasi inscription (Sorab taluk, Shimoga district) of AD 954 records the grant of Muṭṭiguppe to the Mahājanas of some place which is now lost. This grant by a donor whose name is now lost is probably related to the tank and temple mentioned in the inscription as having been constructed by the donor's grandfather ('tammajjam')*[272]. The Uttanūr inscription (Mūlbāgāl taluk, Kōlār district) of AD 968 includes a cash gift of fifteen gadyāṇas by Nōḷamba śeṭṭi which were entrusted to the Mahājanas of Bādanūr for food offerings to Mahādēva*[273]. Likewise the Bechirākh Karaḍihaḷḷi inscription of AD 1011 (Shikārpur taluk) records a grant of a field (poḷa) for the naivedya, dipa and pādapūje of the god Caṇḍēśvara from Toḍaka Keśavayya of Viśvāmitra gōtra and his wife Mārabbe. The grant was entrusted to the Thousand Mahājanas of Śālipura agrahāra*[274]. Similarly, the Balamuri inscription of AD 1012-13 (Śrīraṅgapaṭṭaṇa taluk, Maṇḍya district) records that Pañcavan Mahārāja, the Mahādaṇḍanāyaka of Beṅgi and Gaṅga Maṇḍala, a subordinate of Rājarāja I Cōḷa bathed at the Balambu tīrtha at Baḷḷegula and made a grant of land to the deity of Balambari for the naivēdya to be offered twice daily and for a perpetual lamp. The land grant was apparently entrusted to Mahājanas*[275].

However, the sabhā was not always associated with dēvadāna grants' management even when the temple was situated in the agrahāra. Thus the Tāḷagunda inscription of AD

*271. K.V. Ramesh, op. cit, P. 108, fn.1

*272. EC VIII (old ed) Sb 574

*273. EC X (old ed) Mb 122

*274. EC VII (old ed) Sk 287.

*275. EC VI (new ed) Sr 78

935*[276] which records the construction of a tank at Tāḷagunda and grants of land by Pergaḍe Puliyamma for the deity's naivēdya and nandādīpa states that the grants were entrusted to the Hundred and not to the Mahājanas. It is possible that the temple in question was not located at Tāḷagunda. Similarly, in the case of the Sāsarvaḷḷi inscription cited earlier*[277] although the Mahājanas of Tāṇagundūr (Tāḷagunda) were involved in the excavation of the rock-cut shrine the grant was entrusted to Amṛtarāśi, apparently a Śaiva preceptor.

Although the trend had started as early as the fourth century, at the close of the tenth century and particularly in the beginning of the eleventh century under the Cōḷas, the orthodox brāhmaṇas resident in agrahāras were beginning to participate actively in Purāṇic forms of worship, patronizing temples, constructing new ones and acting as trustees for dēvabhōga grants in some cases. This was one method of adapting to the declining patronage to Vedic Brāhmaṇism. Apart from this many such brāhmaṇas were active in the administration of the numerous regional and sub-regional principalities.

*276. EC VII (old ed) Sk 322.

*277. Supra, p 365, fn 269

## C) SAIVISM

Although we have a reference to at least one Śiva temple in the first phase, the Praṇamēśvara at the agrahāra of Sthānagundūr, Śaivism appears to have gained in popularity only in the second phase. After the eighth century we have numerous instances of Śiva temples being constructed by practically all sections of the landed elite, whether high ranking feudatories, gāvuṇḍas or small landords. Apart from these, corporate groups of landholders in villages, the Samaya and the Sabhā of agraharas made donations for the upkeep of Śaiva shrines.

Part of the reason for this widespread popularity was the very nature of the cult of Śiva. The linga which generally represents the deity is an aniconic symbol which could incorporate aboriginal deities represented similarly by aniconic symbols. Temples of Śiva also generally included, in this period, subordinate shrines of the mother goddesses and Sūrya. The cults of these deities were thus subsumed by Śaivism.

Secondly, the Kālāmukha monks who are first attested to in our region in the early ninth century did much to popularize the cult. They actively promoted the construction of Śiva temples. They followed the Pāśupata doctrine which emphasized the all inclusive, encompassing nature of Śiva who was the cause of the creation, preservation and destruction of the universe. As such, Viṣṇu and Brahmā are clearly subordinate to him - a theme which is brought out by the lingōdbhavamūrti which is frequently depicted on the walls of early medieval Śaiva shrines. The Kālāmukhas also stressed devotion to this supreme god who could even act independently of human karma. Bhakti in the early medieval period connoted completed dependence on and surrender to the supreme deity who bore full responsibility for the devotee. In this way, the deity was akin to a lord who nurtured his dependents, who in turn were expected to be totally dedicated to their master. The Kālāmukha doctrine then was in tune with the times. The concept itself was common to all Hindu sects. However, the chief reason for the Śaivas outstripping all rival sects in popularity lay in their monastic organisation.

(I) PATTERNS OF PATRONAGE :

HIGH RANKING FEUDATORIES : The feudatory lineages of the Bāṇas, Nōḷambas and Cāḷukyas were among the noteworthy patrons of Śaivism in the second phase. The Nandi copper plates of Gōvinda III Rāṣṭrakūṭa of AD 800 record the grant of Kandamangala village by the suzerain for the incense, lamp, sandalpaste, bali, caru etc. required for the worship of Śiva. The temple was probably constructed by Māṇikabbe, the daughter of Indapparasa and the queen of Bāṇa Naramga. She appears to have granted some lands at Kaivāra for the temple. *278 Another temple was constructed at Nandi in AD 810 by the mother of Bāṇa Daḍḍa Narādhipa, the ruler of Koyattūr-12000. The details of the land granted for this Śivālaya is not very clear from this record.*279

Another inscription which mentions the Bāṇas supporting Śaivism is the Gaṇiganūru inscription of the tenth century (Yelandūr taluk, Mysore district) which registers grants of land by Ghanarudra Arakuṭṭi of the Bali yaṁśa for the Arakuṭṭiśvara temple which was then constructed by Śivaśakti bhaṭārar who was also entrusted with its management.*280

Mahēndrādhirāja Nōḷamba was one of the earliest rulers of his lineage to patronize Śaivism. He offered his own palace at Bāragūr in AD 878 for the establishment of Mahādēva. The temple was named Mahēndrēśvara after its patron and granted Nāndūr in Sire nāḍ for its maintenance. *281

After the death of Mahēndrādhirāja, his mother, the Kadamba princess Dīvalabbarasi, constructed a Śiva temple at Āvani (Mūlbāgāl taluk, Kōlār district) which was named Nōḷamba Nārāyaṇēśvara after him.*282

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*278 EC XVII (reved) CB 106.

*279 Ibid, CB 66

*280 EC IV (new ed) Yl 174.

*281 EC XII (old ed) Si 38.

*282 EC X (old ed) Mb 50 of c.AD 890.

It was apparently a samādhi shrine. The inscription recording this is found on the basement of the Bharateśvara temple at Āvani which was probably the temple constructed by Dīvalabbarasi. However, the editor of the Archaeological Survey of Mysore's Annual Report for 1935 speculates whether the temple constructed by her was the huge and ancient- looking Lakṣmaṇeśvara temple, the more centrally located Rāmeśvara linga or the whole group of lingas at Āvani.*283 At all events the inscriptions cited above would indicate the patronage extended by the Nọlambas to Śaivism as well as the tendency to name shrines after patrons. This in part was an attempt to identify the kings with the deity as discussed earlier.*284

The continuing Nọlamba patronage to Śaivism is brought out by another inscription of AD 914 from Bāragūr which records grants of land for two temples at the Mūlasthāna of Bāragūr by Nāgiyabbe and Neleyabbe the queens of Ayyapadēva Nọlamba. The grant was made at Mahēndrēśvara temple and was received by Vimalamati bhaṭārar of the Eastern (mūḍaṇa) Maṭha.*285 It would imply that by the early eleventh century Bāragūr was developing as a temple and monastic complex.

Dilīpayya Nọlamba was also an ardent champion of Śaivism. In AD 942-43 he granted land for the deity Ninneśvara dēva. *286 He also granted the proceeds from minor taxes (Kiṟudeṟe) in favour of the deity Mahādēva of Āvani.*287 Moreover, he exempted the payment of harvest dues (suggāḷge) from the sthāna of Āvanya.*288

Apart from the Nọlambas, the Cāḷukyan chiefs of Mysore also patronized Śaivism, constructing temple and granting villages for their upkeep. Thus the Kukkarahaḷḷi inscription of the tenth century records the construction of the Narasiṁgeśvara temple by the Cāḷukya Mahāsāmanta Narasingayya and grant of Manaḷevāḍi for its maintenance.*289

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*283 ASMAR 1935, pp 99 ff. *284 Supra, Chapter V, Section B
*285 EC VI (old ed) Si 39 *286 Ibid, Si 28. *287 EC X (old ed) Mb 57 of c. AD 950. *288 Ibid Mb 52. *289 EC V (new ed) My 223

Likewise the temple of Būtēśvara at Varuṇa (Mysore taluk) received the grant of Aragōḍu *290 from the Cāḷukya Mahāsāmanta Goggi while the Mahāsāmanta Durga granted Toṟevaḷḷi village for the same temple.*291 The Śirālakoppa inscription (Shikārpur taluk, Shimoga district) of AD 1019 *292 records the renovation of and taḷavṛtti grants for the Mūlasthāna Nandikēśvara temple. The donor was Kundamarasa the son of Iṟivebeḍanga and ruler of Banavāsi who held the title of Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara and the right to play the five instruments. He was a subordinate of the Cāḷukya emperor Jayasinghadēva. If the Iṟivebeḍanga referred to in this record was identical with Ranna's patron Irivebedanga Satyāśraya,*293 then Kundamarasa would also be of Cāḷukyan extraction. At all events the Śirālakoppa inscription records the patronage extended to a Śaiva temple by a high ranking feudatory.

In AD 1029 a middle ranking feudatory Vāmanayya the Daṇḍanāyaka and Mantri of Yuddhamalladēva constructed a temple named Siddhēśvara in memory of his guru Mauni bhaṭṭāraka who attained siddhi. The temple was granted twelve khaṇḍugas of land at Bāṇapura for naivēdya, nandādīvige and gandha.*294

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*290 Ibid My 169

*291 Ibid, My 168

*292 EC VII (old ed) Sk 125.

*293 Ranna's Gadāyuddham II.8

*294 EC IX (old ed) Nl-1.

GAVUNDAS AND SMALL LANDLORDS:

We have several instances of temples constructed by lower ranking gāvuṇḍas and landlords. One such instance is provided by the ninth century Basavanahaḷḷi inscription (T. Narasipur taluk, Mysore district) which records the grant of land for the Eṟeyangēśvara temple by Eṟeyamma. The granted land was initially purchased by Eṟeyamma from Śrīkaṇṭha paṇḍita bhaṭārar.*295 Eṟeyamma's rank and social status have not been specified. He was perhaps, a landlord and the temple was possibly named after him. Alternatively, it is possible that the temple had been constructed earlier by Ganga Nītimārga Eṟeyanga I and now only received a grant from Eṟeyamma for the stated purpose of whitewashing (suṇakke) and mortar painting (sōtage).

The Punajūr stone inscription *296 (Chamrajnagar taluk) and the Maddūr inscription (Yelandūr taluk)*297 both of AD 982 record identical grants of ten Khaṇḍugas of land for the temples constructed by Mallayya and Pollayya from the Thousand Brāhmaṇas of Mālūr and Maḷdūr respectively. The rank and social status of these individuals is not specified in the epigraphs.

The Kempanapura inscription of AD 991 (Chāmrājnagar taluk) on the other hand specifically mentions that the donor Poḷeyya of Kellūr possessed an estate (mānya) at Pōginūr out of which he granted some land for the renovation of a temple the feeding of ascetics and education.*298 Poḷeyya was evidently a landlord but did not enjoy a high rank in the feudatory hierarchy.

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*295 EC V (new ed) Tn 320.

*296 EC IV (new ed) Ch 241.

*297 Ibid, Yl 40.

*298 EC IV (new ed) Ch 145.

A similar grant for education and the feeding of ascetics (bratigaḷ) residing at the Nagarala temple (Nanjanagūḍ taluk) constructed by Nannayya was made by Vidyādharayya with the permission of the king Satyavākya Permānaḍigaḷ. *299 The rank of both Nannayya and Vidyādharayya cannot be discerned.

This difficulty does not arise with the Heggoṭhara epigraph of the ninth century which records the construction of a temple (dēgulava) by Permāḍi gāvuṇḍa's wife Cāvuṇḍabbe who was a daughter of Jōgabbe, the sūle of Permāḍi who might possibly be identified with the Ganga ruler.*300 Only the area of jurisdiction of the gāvuṇḍa has not been specified in this record. On the other hand the Beḷatūr inscription (Heggaḍedēvanakōṭe taluk, Mysore district) of AD 1020 *301 records the renovation of a ruined Śiva temple and its reconstruction by the gāvuṇḍa of Beḷattūru named Jayangoṇḍa Śōḷa Permāḍi gāvuṇḍa who was the oḍeya of Nugu nāḍu. The inscription goes on to record the performance of a Rudra hōma and a feast for a thousand men by Basavi śeṭṭi, the son of Nalla Muruga śeṭṭi and Māgabbe. The śeṭṭi also purchased some land and endowed it to the temple for the maintenance of a perpetual lamp.

An earlier endowment by a śeṭṭi is recorded in the Uttanūr inscription of AD 968 (Mūlbāgāl taluk, Kōlār district). This records a cash gift of forty gadyāṇas for a perpetual lamp and daily offerings to Paramēśvara. Land was purchased out of this gift of cash and bestowed.*302 The Suttūr inscription of AD 1032 (Nanjanagūḍ taluk, Mysore district) records the construction of the temple of Īśāna Īśvaramuḍaiyar and Mūlasthānamuḍaiyar by Guṇḍabbe, the wife of Mārayya śeṭṭi of Śrōtriyūr. Grants of land, of oil for a perpetual lamp, the grant of five instruments to be played thrice daily, and specified contributions from each okkal were also made by her and entrusted to Brahmalingi bhaṭārar.

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*299 EC III (new ed) Nj 239 of the tenth century.

*300 EC IV (new ed) Ch 385

*301 EC III (new ed) Hg 58.

*302 EC X(old ed) Mb 122

Similar grants were also made by the sabhā of Śrōtriyūr and the Samaya which included the Nānādēsis.*303

We have seen earlier that several high-ranking feudatories had constructed temples which were then named after them. This tendency was not limited to feudatories alone. An inscription from Ārūr (Chintāmaṇi taluk, Kōlār district) of AD 957 records the grant of land by Nōḷamba and his subordinate Tiruvayya for the Bhīmēśvara temple at the the request of Bhīmayya, the son of Rājayya. *304 The temple was evidently named after Bhīmayya who was apparently an ordinary landholder without a rank in the feudatory hierarchy. Likewise the Nandigunda inscription (Nanjanagūḍ taluk) of AD 1021 registers the grant of lands and a handmill (Kaygana) for the priest (devalaka), food offerings (naivedya) of one time and a perpetual lamp (nandādīvige) at the temple of Mallēśvara at Nandigunda which had been constructed by Malla gāvuṇḍa *305 and evidently named after him.

A samādhi shrine for a gāvuṇḍa is mentioned in the Mūdlupāḷya inscription (Māgadi taluk, Bangalore district) of AD 968. This records the death of Daḍiga, the son of Gangagacca, the Nālgāvuṇḍa of Manne nāḍ - 300 in defence of his village. A temple, Daḍigēśvara was constructed as a memorial and land grants made for its maintenance.*306 This is reminiscent of the construction of the Nōḷamba Nārāyaṇēśvara in the memory of Mahendrādhirāja Nōḷamba after he perished in a battle with Ganga Ereyappa II.*307 Thus we find gāvuṇḍas and landlords patronizing Śaivism on a large scale in the ninth and particularly, the tenth century.

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*303 EC III (new ed) Nj 215.

*304 EC X (old ed) Ct 49

*305 EC III(new ed) Nj 201

*306 EC IX (old ed) Ma 75

*307 Supra, p.369, fn 282

ROYAL OFFICIALS : Royal officials formed another category of patrons. The Tāḷagunda inscription of AD 935 records that Pergaḍe Puliyamma constructed the big tank at Tānagundūr and made a grant for the god's naivēdya and nandādīpa.*308 The deity in question was probably Praṇamēśvara of Tāḷagunda. Similarly, the other inscription (Sorab taluk, ) Shimoga district) of C.AD 938 records that Pergaḍe Nākiyayya the ruler of Cittaraṭehaḷḷi Ōṭūru, constructed a temple (degula) and granted fields for its maintenance. His younger brother, Pergaḍe Vēḷeyamma had a monastery (maṭa) constructed.*309 This makes it probable that they were Śaiva by faith since Vaiṣṇavas do not appear to have developed a monastic movement in this period. Moreover, the inscription also records the setting up of a Keśavāditya (Sūryanārāyaṇa) image by Poḷeyamma's wife Gombabbe and the grants of land for its upkeep. This seems to indicate the presence of a subsidiary shrine of Sūryanārāyaṇa in the premises of the temple constructed by Pergaḍe Nākiyayya. Another royal official who made grants for a Śaiva temple, the Śrīkaṇṭhēśvara, was the Kaṭakada gōva, Caṭṭayyadēva of Banavāsi. Taḷavṛtti grants were made for the maintenance of the temple and conduct of various rituals.*310 The Bāgaḷi inscription of the tenth century (Chāmrājnagar taluk) records grants for the Bhujaṅgēśvara temple by a Pergaḍe, a Sēnabōva and a corporate group, the Three Hundred *311.

LOCAL CORPORATE GROUPS :

Local corporate groups frequently made grants for temples. Their influence often extended beyond a single settlement. This is revealed by the Suttūr inscription cited earlier which includes grants by the Samaya. *312 The Keregōḍi Rangāpura Platges of the ninth century record the grant of the village Keḍasūr in Nirggunda Viṣaya for the repairs and renovation of the Īśvara temple at the village Ālūr in the Magare viṣya by the Three Hundred.*313

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*308 EC VI(old ed) Sk 322. *309 EC VIII (old ed) Sb 70

*310 Ibid, Sb476 from Hecche of AD 939

*311 EC IV (new ed) Ch 114. *312 Supra p374fn.303.

*313 K.V. Ramesh, op. cit, No.113

It is not clear who the Three Hundred were and how they could wield power over two different viṣayas.The epigraph also mentions Kēśibhaṭṭa and Nadi gāvuṇḍa of Mādeyanūr, Māragāvuṇḍa of Tirbūru and Pōra gāvuṇḍa of Keṟegūḍal who were to protect the grant. It is possible that they were members of the Three Hundred although it is not specifically stated. As we have seen above, the Three Hundred was also involved in the grant for the Bāḷgaliyūr temple of Bhujaṅgēśvara.*314 Whether the two groups were identical is not known. It is possible that they were identical given that the group mentioned in the Keregōḍi Rangāpur plates was a supralocal body. As we have seen earlier, the corporate bodies of agrahāras also patronized temples and participate in temple management in the second phase.*315

ROLE OF SECTARIAN PRECEPTORS :

Temple priests and Śaiva preceptors played an active role in the promotion of temple construction. One of the earliest inscriptions to throw light on this is the eighth century epigraph from Homma (Chāmrājnagar taluk, Mysore district) which registers the grants of a field, house and garden from Dēvēndra Tammaḍi and Muddegaṇa for the Vinītēśvara temple at Poḷma. It also records the purchase of the vāṇiga toṭṭa by Dēvēndra, evidently for bestowal on the temple, and the construction of the north and south porch of the temple by him. In addition Manda-ten-Nandārkar and Māraṭṭa-Tēn-Nandārakar caused the temple tower to be constructed.*316 The principal patron of the Vinītēśvara temple as it emerges from this record was unquestionably Dēvēndra Tammaḍi. Tammaḍi signified a Śaiva priest in Telugu while it meant an attendant in an idol in Kannaḍa. At all events, he was a temple priest. This would indicate that Śaiva priests were already taking an active part in temple construction in the eighth century.

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*314 Supra, fn 311.

*315 Supra Section B(III) Interfusion of Vedic and Puranic elements.

*316 EC IV (new ed) Ch 147.

In the ninth century the Bhōganandīśvara temple was constructed at Nandigrāma. Unfortunately we do not know at whose instance this temple was built. But an inscription of the ninth century*317 records the construction of a tower (gōpakaṭṭa) for Nandi by Paliyaṇa, the son of Aīnūrvācāri, possibly at the instance of Dharmaśakti paṇḍita and a gāvuṇḍa. Dharmaśakti Paṇḍita was probably a Śaiva Monk and successor of Īśvaradāsa Muni as the pontiff of Nandi. This inscription once again brings out the involvement of Śaiva monks in the promotion of temple construction. This is best brought out by the epitaph of Tribhuvana Karttāra bhaṭāra, the pontiff of Āvanya which credits him with the construction of fifty temples and several new tanks in his forty years of pontificate.*318

Occasionally, sectarian preceptors undertook construction of Śiva temples at the instance of other patrons. Thus Śivaśakti bhaṭārar undertook construction of the Arakuṭṭīśvara temple on behalf of Ghanarudra Arakuṭṭi.*319

The Gañjigere inscription of the close of the ninth century (Chikmagaḷūr taluk) indicates that initiative for the construction of a temple was often taken by Śaiva Monks even if they lacked resources. Thus Amṛtarāśi, a monk, is said to have observed a vow and out of the Money collected for this pourpose by Permāḍi caused a temple of Śiva to be constructed. Images of Nandi and the goddess (Bhagavatī) were commissioned and prepared by Narasayya, Varddhana Cakravarti and Ẹ̈reya Nāgamma.*320

Śaivism appears to have had a wider social basis than Jainism in this period. Part of the reason might lie in the fact that it was an entirely temple-based cult and the

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*317 EC X (old ed) CB 26.

*318 EC X (old ed) Mb 65 of AD 961; also supra, chapter IV, Section F(II) for further discussion of the role of this pontiff.

*319 EC IV (new ed) Yl.174. *320 EC VI (old ed) Cm 133.

energies of the Śaiva monks were directed essentially towards garnering support for the construction of temples. For the Jainas construction of shrines was important in this period and was recommended but it represented a deviation from their original stress on rigorous ascetic practices as the means of salvation - a view that was still commended in their works. The Śaivas did not suffer from such dualism although their monks too followed an ascetic regimen similar to the Jainas.

# ŚAIVA PANTHEON

Saiva temples usually enshrine the linga in their sanctum sanctorum. The linga served a useful function in the early medieval context when more and more marginal tribal groups were being assimilated into a class divided state society. In . Tamil Nadu the early Cōḷas systematically promoted the linga due to its assimilative capacity. As an accepted aniconic symbol of the deity it could incorporate local cult practices centred around the pillar or the tree *321. In Vaiṣṇavism, the cult of Narasimha with its myth of the deity bursting forth from a pillar probably served a similar purpose of absorbing the cult of a pillar deity *322. The hill-born (Girija) form of Narasimha was also particularly suitable for absorbing aniconical symbols situated at the top of hills and worshipped by tribals. This form is particularly attested to in Andhra Pradesh and Orissa*323. In Southern Karnataka although we have evidence for the existence of Narasimha temples in this period, the Yoga Narasimha form of the deity appears to have preferred *324. The "Hinduizing" potential of this form does not appear to have been very great. Rather it appears to be a result of the influence of Jainism and Saivism with their exphasis on dhyāna and yōga. The Śiva linga thus appears to have been the primary instrument of acculuration in our region. Svayambhū lingas in particular, which were natural rocks encircled by a sakti could be easily used for this purpose by reidentifying the aniconical symbols of the goddess as a svayambhulinga *325. While similar evidence is not forthcoming in our region, it is possible that similar processes operated here too. Certainly aniconic symbols of the primitive mother-goddesses are not unknown even today. At Midigesi (Tumkur district), the Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of Mysore for the year 1938 states that the goddess Kanyāramma is still worshipped in the form of a linga-like stone *326. Although the symbol of the goddess has not been identified as a linga in this case, it is very likely that other cults of this kind went through a process of re-identification and assimilation. Such a process was no doubt partly responsible for the widespread popularity of Śaivism in our period. Most of the lingas in the temples under study appear to have been man-made. In one such linga the all-encompassing nature of Śiva was illustrated. Thus the linga enshrined in the Desesvara temple at Maddur

*321R. Champakalakshmi, "Peasant State and Society in Medieval South India :A Review Article," in IESHR Vol XVIII,No.s 3-4. (1981) p.400

(Yelandūr taluk, Mysore district) constructed in AD 982, has a damaged spherical top with Gaṇapati, Śiva and Pārvati etched on it *327.

The linga was not the only object of worship in these temples. Nandi, the attendant deity of Śiva, is usually enshrined in a separate pavilion facing the sanctum. Thus the Bhōga Nandīśvara temple inscription (Chikka Baḷḷāpura taluk, Kōlār district) of the ninth century records the construction of a pavilion (gopakatta) for Nandi by Paliyaṇa, the son of Ainūrvācāri *328. Similar pavilions for Nandi are also in evidence at the Oṇakahoṇḍada Basavaṇṇa temple at Beḷgāmi (Shikārpur taluk, Shimoga district) of the ninth century *329, the Rāmēśvara temple at Kubaṭūr(Sōrāb taluk) of c.AD 900 *330 and the Arkēśvarasvāmi temple at Ālūr (Chāmrājanagar taluk, Mysore district) of the early Cōḷa period *331.

A shrine of the mother goddess is also often present in the precincts of Śaiva temples. The Kuntūr inscription of the tenth century (Koḷḷegāl taluk, Mysore district) which records grants for the deity Vinga Mahēśvara by the Twelve of Kundattūru also includes a grant for the goddess Bhaḷāri *332. This would imply that a shrine of the goddess was included in the premises. This is the case with the Rāmēśvara temple at Narasamangaḷa (Chāmrājanagar taluk) which has been assigned to c.AD 800. Here a separate shrine to the south-west of the temple houses the saptamātṛka group consisting of Brāhmī, Māhēśvarī, Kaumārī, Vaiṣṇavī, Vārāhi, Aindrī and Cāmuṇḍa accompanied by Vīrabhadra, Gaṇēśa, Dakṣa-Brahmā or Kubēra and Bhairava. To the east of this shrine an image of Mahiṣāsuramardinī of the Ganga period was found which was possibly earlier accomodated in a separate shrine *333.

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*322S. Jaiswal, Origin and Development of Vaiṣṇavism, loc. cit., p. 137
*323A Eshmann. "The Vaisnava Typology of Hinduization and the Origin of Jagannatha", in A.Eschmann, H.Kulke and G.C.Tripathi(ed) Tahe Cult of Jagannatha and the Regional Tradition of Orissa,New Delhi (1978),pp.99-117
*324 infra, Section D
*325 A.Eschmann, 'Hinduisation of Tribal Deities in Orissa: The Sakta and Saiva Typologies', in Eschmann , Kulke and Tripathi (edited), op.cit. p.96
*326 ASMAR 1938, p.11
*327 ASMAR 1938, p.37 *328 EC X (old ed) CB 26. *329 ASMAR 941, pp.84-85.
*330 Ibid, p-37 *331 ASMAR 1937, p.37 *332 EC IV (new ed) Ko.10
*333 ASMAR 1937, pp.35-36 *334 ASMAR 1946 p.14 *335 ASMAR 1941.p.99
*336 ASMAR 1914-15 p.16

In several other temples the Saptamātṛka group or the Mahiṣāsura-Mardinī images were placed in the sukhanasi or the navaranga mantapa of the main temple. This is the case with the Mahiṣāsuramardinī image at the Arkēśvara temple at Talakāḍ which is placed in the sukhanāsi*334. Similarly a Saptamātṛka panel and an image of Mahiṣāsura-Mardinī are placed in the navaranga of the Kubaṭūr Rāmēśvara temple*335. An image of the goddess also finds a place in the navaranga of the Nāgēśvara temple at Bēgūr (Bangalore district). However, neither the image nor the temple have been clearly dated by the editor *336.

Apart from the mother goddesses, Śaiva temples also usually enshrined images of Sūrya. Thus the Gaṇiganūru inscription (Yelandūr taluk, Mysore district) of the tenth century which records land grants for the Arakuṭṭīśvara temple by Ghanarudra Arakuṭṭi also included grants for Āditya Bhaṭāra by Ēḷalabbe and Poḷalabbe*337. Subsidiary Sūrya shrines are also attested to in the Gautamēśvara temple at Gauja (Shikarpur

45 taluk, Shimoga district) *338 and the Īśvara temple at Nandiguḍi (Chitradurga district) of the tenth century*339. At the Rāmēśvara temple at Narasamangaḷa, an empty pedestal with seven horses etched on it is found to the east of the Saptamātṛka shrine. This probably was an image of Sūrya which was possibly accommodated in a separate shrine earlier*340 . At the Arkēśvara temple at Talakāḍ*341 the Nāgēśvara temple of Bēgūr *342 and the eleventh century Daḍigēśvara temple at Kōḍihaḷḷi*343 images of Sūrya were kept in the Navaranga Maṇṭapa. It is not known whether they were earlier kept in separate cells.

Śaiva temples are also distinguished by sculptural friezes illustrating puranic and epic themes. These puranic friezes depict not merely Śaiva myths and legends but also themes from the epics which are essentially Vaiṣṇava in character. Thus the four central pillars of the navaranga of the Kallēśvara temple at Garji (Kaḍūr taluk, Chikmagaḷūr district) depict various aspect of Shiva such as Naṭarāja Bhairava, the

*337 EC IV (new ed) Y1.174.
*338 ASMAR 1941 pp.76-77
*339 ASMAR 1937 p.
*340 ASMAR 1937 p.36
*341 ASMAR 1946 p.14
*342 ASMAR 1914-15 p.16
*343 ASMAR 1940 P.56
*344 ASMAR, 1942 PP.61-62
*345 ASMAR 1937 PP.30-32
*346 Ibid
*347 ASMAR 1941, pp.99 ff
*348 ASMAR 1935 pp.11-12

Lingōdbhavamūrti, Ardhanārīśvara, Gajāsuramardana, Harihara etc. Apart from these Śaiva themes, these pillars ascribable to the late tenth or early eleventh century also depict Lakṣmī in padmāsana, Venkaṭēśa and Mahiṣāsuramardinī*344. Similarly, the Rāmēśvara temple at Narasamangaḷa ascribable to the early ninth century depicts on the beams supporting the navaranga ceiling, the babe Kṛṣṇa lying on a banyan leaf, Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa conferring with Sugrīva, the bridging of the ocean, Gajalakṣmī, Viṣṇu reclining on Ādiśēṣa, Sītā in Aśōkavana,*345 etc. The sikhara of the temple also bears stucco images of Tāṇḍavēśvara Śiva, Gajāsuramardana, Dakṣiṇāmūrti, Viṣṇu treading on Bāli's head. Umā-Mahēśvara and dancing Durgā among others*346. The navaranga ceiling of the Rāmēśvara temple at Kubaṭūr*347 and the Kallēśvara temple at Araḷaguppe*348 depict Tāṇḍavēśvara Śiva attended by Nandi, Pārvatī, Gaṇesh, Kumāra, and musicians and surrounded by ten Aṣṭadikpālas.

The inclusion of Vaiṣṇava themes in Śaiva temples, together with shrines of the mother-goddesses and Sūrya were probably a means of asserting the inclusiveness and all-encompassing nature of Śiva. H.V. Stietencron reports a similar situation in Orissa where many works of art relating to Viṣṇu are found in temples of Śiva at Bhubanesvar and other places. But these images were distinctly Śaiva in character although their appreciation pre-supposed an acquaintance of the educated viewer with Vaiṣṇava mythology*349.

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*349 H.V. Stietencron. "The Advent of Viṣṇuism in Orissa" in A. Eschmann. H. Kulke and G.C. Tripathi (ed).op.ct.p7

(III) THE ŚAIVA MONASTIC ORDER

Although the Pāśupata doctrine presumably followed by the Kālāmukhas *350 laid down residence in a temple only in the first stage of an initiate's life, the Kālāmukhas appear to have been essentially a resident order from the very beginning in this region .

The principal Śaiva monastic establishments in our region may be noticed here. The earliest reference in Southern Karnataka to a Śaiva Monastic establishment occurs in the Nandi copper plates of Gōvinda III Rāṣṭrakūṭa of AD 806 *351 as well as another set of copper plates dated AD 810 *352 from the same place. In both cases, Īśvaradāsa Muni, the sthānādhipati of Nandigiri and the chief disciple of Kālaśakti guru was the trustee for the grants to Śiva temples at Nandi. Dharmaśakti Paṇḍita who is mentioned in a late ninth century inscription from the Bhōganandīśvara temple at Nandi *353 was probably a successor of Īśvaradāsa Muni.

Another Śaiva monastic centre was situated at Āvani (Mūlbāgāl taluk, Kōlār district) where a cluster of temples had come up in the ninth and tenth centuries. Tribhuvana Kartāra bhaṭāra and his possible predecessor, Mahēndra Kaliyuga Rudra have been noticed earlier, to have been the pontiffs of Āvanya sthāna in the tenth century *354.

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*350 Since no Kalamukha work has survived, Lorenzen has presumed in his work, The Kāpālikas and Kālāmukhas : Two lost Śaivite Sects, California (1972) P183 that they maintained Pāśupata doctrines and cults. For further evidence in support, vide M.Chidanandamurthy, Kannaḍa Śāsanagaḷa Sānskritika Adhyayana, 2nd ed, (Mysore, 1979), pp 129-133.

*351 EC XVII (rev.ed) CB 106

*352 Ibid, CB 66,

*353 EC X (old ed) CB 26

*354 Supra Section B, P 364

A ninth century inscription on a pillar near the Bharatēśvara temple at Avani *355 indicates that the pontificate of Āvani had been established in the ninth century. The epigraph records that minor Ganga chief, Pṛthivi Gangarasa visited Bāṇēśvara and sought an audience with Paṇḍita bhaṭāra who was evidently the sthānādhipati at that time . An inscription from Balla village (Mūlbāgāl taluk) dated AD 1007 *356 mentions Tribhuvanakartta linga dēvar as the ruler of Āvanya sthana. He is the last pontiff of Āvani to find mention in our inscriptions.

Hebbaṭa (Śrinivāspur taluk, Kōlār district) was also the site of a Śaiva monastic establishment in the first quarter of the tenth century. We have references to the Ācārya's sthāna at Perbhaṭa in the two vīrgals *357 of this place. But it is not clear whether this was a temple or merely a monastery.

The late ninth century Mōgēnahaḷḷi inscription (Channapaṭna taluk, Bangalore district) *358 mentions Mūvaḍi Cilluka dēvar as the ruler (āḷva) of the temples of Śivamārēśvara, Jagdhara Nagharēśvara and Nītimārgēśvara. Unfortunately the location of these temples is not specified. But at all events this Śaiva monastic establishment appears to be of considerable antiquity even at the end of the ninth century when it comes to our notice to judge from the title "Mūvaḍi" (third) prefixed to the name of this preceptor.

Another temple and monastic complex was situated at Bāragūr. Bāragūr's career as a Śaiva centre started in AD 878 when Mahēndrādhirāja Nōḷamba dedicated his own palace there for the establishment of the Mahēndrēśvara temple. The sthānapati was Mahāvrata-pradhāna Dinakara Sōma bhaṭārar of Gauha gōtra. Apparently a monastery (maṭha) was attached to the temple. *359

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*355 ASMAR 1935, p.87, No.15

*356EC X (old ed) Mb 91.

*357 EC X (old ed) Sp 29 of c.AD 900 and Sp.28 of c.AD 920

*358EC IX (old ed) Cp.48.

*359 EC XII (old ed) Si 38

Another inscription from Bāragūr dated AD 919 attests to the existence of two other temples there as well as at least two monasteries. *360

Hēmāvati (Sira taluk, Tumkur district) was another Śaiva Centre. The temple of Ninnēśvara dēva situated here received a grant of land,*361 which was entrusted to Cilluka bhaṭārar who was the disciple of Vakkāni bhaṭārar and is eulogized as the re-incarnation of Lakulīśa. *362

Pemjeṟu which is described as a Pañcamaṭha sthāna in one of the Bāragūr records *363 appears to be a major Śaiva monastic centre in the tenth century and was apparently closely linked to the monastic establishments at Bāragūr and Hēmāvati. *364 In the western division we have several references to Saiva monastic establishments from the Mysore and Shimoga districts. In Mysore district one of the earliest references comes from the Basavanahaḷḷi inscriptioin of the late ninth century (T. Narsipur taluk). This mentions Lakulīśvara bhaṭārar, the disciple of Śrīkaṇṭha paṇḍita bhaṭārar as the sthānika(manager) of the Eṟeyaṅgēśvara temple. *365 Unfortunately, the location of this temple cannot be ascertained.

Nannayya's temple at Nagarala (Nanjanagūḍ taluk) was another monastery for Śaiva monks in the tenth century. The pontiff of this centre has not been named but the inscription makes arrangements for the feeding of ascetics resident there (bratigaḷge uṇban) and for education (vidyādāna). *366

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*360 Ibid, Si 39.

*361 Ibid, Si 28, dated AD 942-43

*362 Ibid, Si 28 ll.73-77,

*363 Ibid, Si 39.

*364 Ibid, Si 28, ll.46-48.

*365 EC V (new ed) TN 320

*366 EC III (new ed) Nj 239.

Piriyaholma (Nanjanagūḍ taluk) was the centre of one of the two major subdivisions of the Kālāmukhas, the Śakti Pariṣe in AD 977. The temple of the mother goddess situated here was also under their control. We also have reference to the temple of Cikkēśvara in the course of the boundary details. *367

Suttūr (Nanjanagūḍ taluk) was the site of a Śaiva monastery in the first quarter of the eleventh century. An inscription of AD 1032 records grants for the newly constructed temples of Īśāna Īśvaramuḍaiyar and Mūlasthānam uḍaiyar which were entrusted to the pontiff Brahmalingi bhaṭāra. The reference to Maṭhada Pūvina Śeṭṭi (flower merchant of the Maṭha) would indicate that there was separate monastery here *368. It is interesting to note that the temple endowments were controlled by the Śaiva pontiff and not the brahmadēya sabhā of Suttūr.

The Būtēśvara temple at Varuṇa (Mysore taluk) was the seat of Nannikarttāra bhaṭāra in the tenth century. This monk was entrusted with grants from the Cāḷukyan chiefs Goggi and Durga for the temple. *369

Similarly the Bhujaaṅgēśvara temple at Bāḷgaḷiyūr (Modern Bāgali, Chāmrājnagar taluk) was ruled by Kūci bhaṭārar, who also bore the title of Nirggunda gōrava, in the tenth century. This monk was entrusted with the management of grants made for the temple by Pergaḍe Jōgapayya a sēnabōva and the Three Hundred. *370 Another tenth century shrine under the control of the Kālāmukhas was the Arakuṭṭēśvara which was commissioned by Ghanarudra Arakuṭṭi of the Bali vaṁśa. The grants for the temple were entrusted to Śivaśakti bhaṭārar who then had the temple constructed. He is said to have situated himself near Nandi. *371 It is possible that he belonged to the spiritual lineage of Kālaśakti guru and Īśvaradasa Muni.*372 The location of the Arakuṭṭēśvara temple itself is not specified clearly but it is possible that this too was situated in the vicinity of Nandi.

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*367 Ibid, NJ 294

*368 Ibid, Nj 215

*369 EC V (new ed) My 168, 169.

*370 EC IV (new ed)Ch 114

*371 Ibid, Yl 174.

*372 Supra, p383, fn.353

The Mahādēva sthāna of Kundattūr (Modern Kuntūr, Kollegāl taluk) was the seat of Paramasatti bhaṭāra in the tenth century. The preceptor as well as the shrine of Vinga Mahēśvara and the subsidiary shrine of Bhaḷāri were recipients of grants of land from the Twelve of Kundattūru and the king Nītimārga Permānaḍigaḷ.*373

The Kempanapura inscription of AD 991 (Chāmrājanagar taluk) records grants for feeding ascetics, education and the renovation of a temple by Poḷeyya of Kellūr. The grants were entrusted to Somarāśi bhaṭṭāraka of Īśvara lineage.*374 Evidently, this temple whose location is unfortunately not specified served as a residence for Kālāmukha monks. The Āṭakūr inscription of AD 949-50 (Maddūr taluk, Maṇḍya district) *375 indicates that the Callēśvara temple was similarly the centre of Kālāmukha monks although the pontiff's name is not given. This inscription records, the settling up of a memorial stone for the hound Kali in front of the Callēśvara temple at Āṭakūr and stipulates that the gōrava ruling the sthāna was to worship the stone before his meal. D.C. Sircar explains gōrava as a Saiva priest *376 while Kittel opines that gōravas were a class of Śaiva mendicants.*377 We have seen above that Kūci bhaṭārar, the Oḍeya of the Bhujangēśvara temple at Bālgaḷiyūr was conferred the title of Nirggunda gōrava by the local ruler *378. This would indicate that Śaiva pontiffs were addressed as gōravas. This is also borne out by the Hebbaḷa inscription which mentions Bhāvaśiva as ruling the kingdom of tapas and registers the grant of good quality cows (aggala tuṟu) for a hero who perished in a cattle raid, by the gōrava.* 379 Here gōrava appears to refer to Bhāvaśeva. Thus the term gōrava applies not merely to Śaiva priests but to ascetics of the Śaiva monastic order as well. The Callēśvara temple at Āṭakūr thus appears to be a monastic centre as well. The inscription implies that ascetics discharged priestly functions also.

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*373 EC IV (new ed) Ko 10. *374 EC IV (new ed) Ch 145

*375 EC VII (new ed) Mu 42. *376 D.C. Sircar, I.E.G. Q.V. Gorava.

*377 F. Kittel, A Kannada-English Dictionary, Q.V., gōrava.

The Kannambāḍi inscription *380 (Pāṇḍavapura taluk, Maṇḍya district) mentions the Śāviyabbēśvara temple which also perhaps served as a residence for Śaiva Monks. At all events the details of land granted for this shrine includes a reference to the gōravakeṟe (tank of the gōravas). The location of the Sāviyabbēśvara temple is unfortunately left unspecified. It is possible that it is identical with the Kaṇvēśvara temple at Kannambāḍi near which the inscription, which is datable to the close of the tenth century, was found. The location of the gōravakeṟe is also not specified but if it too was situated at Kannambāḍi then it would strengthen the premise that the Sāviyabbēśvara had an attached monastery. On the other hand, the Haḷe Būdanūr inscription (Maṇḍya taluk) of AD 1024 *381 does not mention either a temple or a monastery but refers to a pontiff, Sōvirāśi bhaṭṭāraka who constructed a tank for which the gāvuṇḍas of Būdanūr granted some land as bittuvaṭṭa. It appears from this record that Sōvirāśi bhaṭṭāraka exercised authority over at least some part of Būdanūr or in its vicinity.

We have only one reference to a Kālāmukha centre from the Hāssan district. This comes from the ninth century Marūru inscription (Arkalgūḍ taluk).*382 It registers grants of land to Akhaṇḍa bhaṭāra as vidyādāṇa. This would indicate the existence of a monastery which also served as a centre for imparting theological instruction to the laituy. Unfortunately, we are not told where this monastery was situated. The inscription itself was found in a field at Marūru and contains details of lands granted in terms of fields and tanks but the place name is not specified. It is possible that both the land and the monastery were located at Marūru itself.

In the Chikmagaḷūr district reference to a Kālāmukha monk comes only from the Gañjigere inscription (Chikmagaḷūr taluk) of the close of the ninth century.*383 This inscription records the crusading zeal of a monk Amṛtarāśi in the construction of a Śaiva temple in Kōlūr nāḍ with subsidiary shrines of Nandi and Bhagavatī.

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*378 Supra, p,386, fn.370. *379 EC X (old ed) Sp.29

*380 EC VII (new ed) Ppu 43. *381 EC VII (new ed) Md 54.

*382 EC VIII (new ed) Ag 28. *383 EC VI (old ed) Cm 133.

The precise location of this temple in Kōlūr nāḍ is not specified but it probably served as seat for this monk who performed a vow and collected funds for its construction.

Chikamagaḷūr inscriptions refer to other Śaiva temples, the Kīḷgāṇēśvara at Kigga *384 and the Jīvitēśvara at Chittavaḷḷi*385 of the 7th and the 11th centuries respectively. But in both cases we do not have evidence of association of Kālāmukha monks. In Shimoga district, the earliest reference to a Kālāmukha comes from the Hecce inscription *386 (Sorab taluk) of AD 939 which registers grants for the Śrīkaṇṭhēśvara temple for the conduct of angabhoga,rangabhoga and caitrapavitra,the feeding of asscetics (tapōdanara āhāradāna), naivēdya and the maintenence of temple structure. The grants were entrusted to Rudraśakti Paṇḍitadēvar. The epigraph also mentions Brahmabhujanga Paramasvāmigaḷ who was evidently a witness to the grant.

Similarly, the Mūlasthāna Nandikēśvara temple at Śirālakoppa (Shikārpur taluk) which was renovated in AD 1019 served as the seat of Mūliga Śivaśakti paṇḍitadēvar who was entrusted with taḷavṛtti grants made for its maintenance *387. The Ōṭūr inscription (Sōrāb taluk) of c.AD 938 records the construction of a temple (dēgula) a monastery (maṭha) and a subsidiary shrine of Kēśavāditya by Pergaḍe Nākiyayya and members of his family.*388 Although the record does not mention any Śaiva pontiff, the reference to a monastery indicates that it was a seat of the Kālāmukhas, the only Hindu sect to develop a monastic order in this period.

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*384 Ibid, Kp 37, 38, 39, 40.

*385 Ibid Cm 95

*386 EC VIII(old ed) Sb 476.

*387 EC VII (old ed) Sk 125

*388 EC VIII (old ed) Sb 70.

We have epigraphic references to several other Śaiva temples in Shimoga district such as the Praṇaveśvara at Sthānakundūr agrahāra, *389 the Gautameśvara at Gaujāgrahāra *390 the Caṇḍēśvara at Śālipura agrahāra *391 and the lingas established at Uttarāṇihaḷḷi (Shikārpur taluk) in AD 1012 *392 and Nellūr (Sōrāb taluk) in AD 1013.*393 In all these cases, however, we have no evidence of the association of Kālāmukha monks.

The Kālāmukhas thus appear to have been entrenched in the Kōlār, Tumkūr and Mysore districts and were more sparsely distributed in other districts. The reason for this sparse distribution in the Hāssan-Chikmagaḷūr tract may be in the fact that this area was a Jaina stronghold. It is less easy to explain why the Bangalore district yields but two references to the Kālāmukhas. The area was dominated by the Nōḷambas and Bāṇas who patronized Śaivism rather than Jainism. Although we have archaeological and epigraphic evidence for the existence of Śaiva temples few of these appear to have been associated with the Kālāmukhas. The inscriptions examined above give us an idea of the extent of support extended by the laity to these monks. Grants were made to support ascetics resident in a temple(bratigalge uṇbaṇ *394 tapōdanara āhāradāna, *395) for the imparting of education to the laity (vidyā dāna) *396 as well as the conduct of rites in a temple. The Āṭakūr inscription *397 appears to indicate that Śaiva ascetics were also priests officiating in the temples. They were also responsible for the administration of the temple and its estates. In the case of monastic centres such as Āvanya the jurisdiction of the pontiffs could extend to the neighbouring settlements as well and encompassed not merely the religious sphere but the temporal one as well. *398

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*389 EC VII (old ed) Sk 176 of the fourth century, Sk 322 of AD 935-36.

*390 Ibid, Sk 45(b) of c.AD 890

*391 Ibid, Sk 287 of AD 1011. * 392 Ibid, Sk 71.

*393 EC VII (old ed) Sb 471.

Several inscriptions give us some idea of the ascetic regimen of the Kālāmukhas. Thus Īśvaradāsa Muni the sthānādhipati of Nandi Hill in AD 806 is said to be observant of vows (vrata Niyama), penance (tapa) and daily prayers (japa hōma). *399 Similarly, the Bāragūr inscription of AD 878 *400 which mentions Dinakara Sōma bhaṭārar of the Gauha gotra and pravara as the trustee describes him as Mahāvrata-Pradhāna. The grant was to pass on in the lineage of the guru provided the disciples remained brahmacāris. Evidently, celibacy was a rule of this order. The sect to which this preceptor belonged is not very clear since both the Kālāmukhas and the Kāpālikas were associated with the penance or vow called Mahāvrata.*401

The Kāpālika Mahāvrata, was an imitative repetition of Śiva's performance of the Mahāvrata as expiation for beheading the fifth head of Brahmā. Through the performance of this vow, the Kāpālikas believed that they became ritually homologized with the god and partook of his divine powers. *402 On the other hand, the Kālāmukha Mahāvrata was probably related to that described in Patañjali's Yōgasutra which holds that when the five Yamas of satya, asteya, ahimsa,brahmacarya and aparigraha are practised without exceptions being made of time or place, status or occasion, the observance is known as Mahāvrata.*403 Lorenzen argues that the Paśupatas attached great importance to the performance of the five Yamas and five niyamas. He adds that most Kālāmukha inscriptions stress the yogic attainments of these ascetics.*404 One such instance is provided by the Haḷe Būdanūr record of AD 1024 which describes Sōvirāśi bhaṭṭāraka as possessing Yama (restraint), niyama (discipline), svādhyāya (study) samādhi(absorption in holy thought), dhyāna (meditation), mauna (silence) and anuṣṭhāna (performance of duties).*405

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*394 EC III (new ed) Nj 239. *395 EC VII(old ed) Sb 476

*396 EC III (new ed) Nj 239; EC VIII (new ed) Ag 28; EC IV (new ed) Ch 145.

*397 EC VII (new ed) Mu 42 *398 Supra, Chapter IV, Section F-II.

*399EC XVII(rev ed) CB 106. *400 EC XII (old ed) Si 38.

*401 D.N. Lorenzen,The Kāpālikas and Kālāmukhas, op.cit.,p.73.

*402 Ibid, p.80. *403 Ibid, p.87. * 404 Ibid pp 81-82

If it is accepted that the Kālāmukha Mahāvrata consisted of unqualified observance of the five yamas, then it is interesting to note that it was identical with the Jaina version of Mahāvrata for monks. *406 Jaini suggests that both the Jaina Mahāvratas and the yamas of the Yoga school were derived from a common source. *407 But it is possible that its adoption by the Kālāmukhas was a result of Jaina influence.

To return to the question of the sectarian affiliation of Dinakara Sōma bhaṭārar, the special stress on brahmacarya one of the five yamas, in the Bāragūr inscription would suggest that he was a Kālāmukha. In Nandi's opinion his position as a sthānādhipati would also point to his being a Kālāmukha. The Kāpalikas by contrast are generally associated with orgic and gruesome rites in cremation grounds.*408 However, Lorenzen has cited an inscription from Kolanupāka (Nalgoṇḍa district, Andhra Pradesh) of AD 1050 which appears to relate to a Kāpalika sthānādhipati. *409 The Kāpālikas in fact enjoyed tremendous influence among the ruling elite in the early medieval period.*410 It is, therefore, difficult to conclude merely on the basis of his position as sthānādhipati that Dinakara Sōma bhaṭārar was a Kālāmukha. In contrast, Cilluka bhaṭārar, the trustee of Ninnēśvara dēva, is specifically stated to have followed the Śiva āgama of the Lakulīśa sect - a statement which unambiguously identifies him as a Kālāmukha. *411

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*405 EC VII (new ed) Md 54. Translation on pp 578-579.

*406 Supra, Section A p316

*407 P.S Jaini, Gender and Salvation, Op.cit, p.38, fn.9

*408 R.N. Nandi, Religious Institutions and Cults... loc.cit, pp.85-86.

*409 D.N. Lorenzen, "New light on the Kapalikas" in A. Hilte beitel (ed) Criminal Gods and Demon Devotees, New Delhi 1990, pp.233-35.

*410 B.D Chattopadhyaya, "Religion in a Royal Household; A study of some aspects of Rajasekhara's Karpuramanjari" in idem, The Making of Early Medieval India OUP,(New Delhi,1994)

*411 EC XII (old ed) Si 28 of AD 942-43.

Kālāmukhas performed the basic upacāras such as bali, caru, dhūpa and dīpa in their temples as attested by the Nandi plates of AD 806.*412 Bali might have signified one of the brāhmaṇa pañcamahāyajñas which implied offerings to creatures.*413 If so, it would controvert the view of the Śrīvaiṣṇava teachers of the eleventh and twelfth centuries who described the Kālāmukhas as anti-vedic and anti-caste incharacter.*414 Davis points out that the Śaivāgamas do not reject the vēdas altogether but have appropriated some of the vedic rituals as a subordinate component within their own system.*415

The Kālāmukhas were staunch Śaivas. The Kerēgōḍi Rangāpura plates describe the trustee Nētraśivācārya, as "belonging to the line of pure Śaivism and devoted to Tripurahara who is an embodiment of the triad of gods causing the creation, protection and destruction of the whole world". This corresponds to the second principal topic of Kauṇḍinya's exposition of Pāśupata doctrine namely, kāraṇa (cause). God or Īśvara is described as the creator, sustainer and destroyer of the universe with both an immanent and a transcendent aspect. In both aspects he is characterized by unlimited power of knowledge (jñāna śakti) and power of action (kriyā śakti).*416

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*412 EC XVIII (rev.ed) CB 106

*413 The pañcamahāyajña later underwent modifications and were recommended for sudras as well. S.Jaiswal, "Studies in Early Indian Social History: Trends and Possibilities", in IHR, Vol VI, Nos.1-2(1979-80),p.43.

*414 R.Champakalakshmi, "Ideology and The State in South India", Paper presented at Seminar on State in pre-colonial South India, held in JNU in March 1989, p.20.

*415 Richard H.Davis,"Cremation and liberation: Revision of a Hindu Ritual" in History of Religions, Vol 28,No.1 (1988), pp.51-52.

*416 D.N. Lorenzen, Kāpālikas and Kālāmukhas, loc.cit., pp 134, 190.

Another distinctive Kālāmukha-Pāśupata tenet was a belief in Śiva's absolute independence. They believed that Śiva was not bound even by human Karma. Although this belief was later modified by certain groups within the Kālāmukha school its acceptance by the majority shows that for the Kālāmukhas,*417 Śiva was an absolutist potentate on whom the devotees were completely dependent for liberation. Such complete dependence on the deity and the total dedication required of the devotee mirrors the relations between the lord and the servant (āḷ, bhṛtya) in the temporal sphere.*418 It would seem that even among the Śaivas the practice of erecting memorials to preceptors after death was in vogue. Thus the Nelamaṅgaḷa inscription of AD 1029 *419 (Bangalore district) records the construction of the Siddhēśvara temple by Vāmanayya, a daṇḍanāyaka and mantri of Yuddhamalladēva, in the memory of his guru Mauni bhaṭṭāraka. Samādhi shrines were constructed for heroes who perished in battle as well. But there is a certain difference. Individuals like Nōḷamba Mahēndra and Daḍiga gāvuṇḍa fall in the category of bhubhukṣu or seekers of worldly benefits, whose souls transmigrate to newly emitted bodies after death Mauni bhaṭṭāraka's attainment of siddhi on the other hand, implies according to the Saivāgamas, his passage from bondage (bandhatva) to mokṣa. The soul freed of its fetters would regain its innate character of Śivatva (Śiva-ness).*420 The identification of the guru with the deity would then be complete and the construction of the Siddhēśvara temple an apt memorial. This practice also reflects the growing tendency among the Śaivas of deifying the preceptor.

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*417 Ibid.

*418 Supra, Chapter V, Section B

*419 EC IX (old ed) Nl 1

*420 Richard H. Davis "Cremation and liberation. The revision of a Hindu Ritual", in History of Religion, Vol.28, No.1, (1988), pp 41-42.

## D) VAISNAVISM

In comparison with Jainism and Śaivism Vaiṣṇavism enjoyed much less support among the landed magnates of the period. Ganga Rācamalla I was one of the few rulers who is described as a devotee of Viṣṇu in the second phase. But the Perjjarangi grant which records this registers a land grant for a śrōtrīya brāhmaṇa and not a temple. *421 Moreover, Rācamalla I appears to have been a Jaina personally, as we have seen above. *422 It is possible that the donee of the Perjjarangi grant was a Vaiṣṇava and hence Rācamalla, in order to refrain from hunting his sentiments, and perhaps to win his support, is described as a Vaiṣṇava himself. A similar policy was adopted by Anantavarman Cōḍagangadēva who was personally Śaiva by conviction but whose records depict him as Parama-Māhēśvara or Parama-Vaiṣṇava according to the religious persuasion of the donee *423. This shows that sectarian differences based on special devotion to a Jaina, Śaiva or Vaiṣṇava deity did not have a corresponding segregative reflection on the social base. Hence husband and wife could be devoted to different deities and a devotee of Śiva could also be described as a devotee of Viṣṇu.

Prior to the advent of the Cōḷas in Southern Karnāṭaka we have few references in inscriptions to Vaiṣṇava shrines in our region. An inscription from Kalkunda (Nanjanagūḍ taluk) of the close of the ninth century mentions the deity Nārāyaṇasvāmi for whom Duggayya of Eḍakoḷagēri granted some pasture land (pasalam) to the west of Belavakāle *424. The location of the temple and the social status of the donor are both not discernible from the record.

Another temple of Viṣṇu was constructed by Dīvalabbarasi, the Nōḷamba queen of Kadamba extraction who had also caused the Nōḷamba Nārāyaṇēśvara temple at Āvani to be built. This Viṣṇugṛha was situated at Pēraramangaḷa *425.

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*421 EC V (new ed) Kn 49.

*422 Supra, Section A(I)

*423 H.V. Stietencron, "The Advent of Vaisnavism in Orissa...." op.cit, pp.22-23.

*424 EC III (new ed) Nj 249

*425 EC X (old ed) Mb 38.

A temple of Viṣṇu was constructed by the son of Tāgaracce's ūrodeya, Pērbārva Mādhavayya. The location of this temple is not specified in the inscription of AD 1027 *426. But it is possible that it was situated at Tāgaracce (Shikarpur taluk, Shimoga district) itself. The deity of this shrine Nārāyaṇadēva received the grant of Kūḍigere Manneya as abhyantara siddhi probably from Nanni Śāntara Annaḷa dēva the ruler of Śāntaḷige-1000 and Koḍanāḍu-30.

After the establishment of Cōḷa rule, several Viṣṇu temples appear to have been established in Southern Karnataka. The major shrines were those of Iravikula-Māṇikka-Viṇṇagar āḷvār at Taḍimālingi (T.Narasipur taluk) *427, Jayangoṇḍa Śōḷa Viṇṇagar-āḷvār at Manalūr (Channapaṭna taluk, Bangalore district) *428, the Apramēyasvāmi temple at Mālūr (Channapaṭna taluk) *429 and the Rājāśraya-Viṇṇagar-āḷvār temple at Mārehaḷḷi (Maḷavaḷḷi taluk, Maṇḍya district) *430. A perusal of grants made for these shrines indicates that prince support for Vaiṣṇavism came from the sabhās of agrahāras *431 as well as other temple managements. Thus the Iravikula-Māṇikka- Viṇṇagar Āḷvār temple was endowed out of the treasury of the Periya Kundavai-Āḷvār temple *432 But apart from this, the feudatories of the Cōḷas such as Daṇḍanāyaka Pañcavan Manukuṇakēsari Mārāyan *433 and Perundanam Sēnāpati Kuravan Uḷugalāṇdan Rājēndra Śōḷa Jayamūr Nāḍāḷvan *434 also made donation for the ritual requirements of these temples. The local body of the town, the Nagarattār of Jananāthapuram acted as trustee for these gifts but it is interesting to note that they do not make grants themselves. It is also noteworthy that these subordinates of the Cōḷas were not local men but brought from Tamil Nadu. This would indicate that the Tamil members of the Śrīvaiṣṇava community took an active interest in furthering the cause of Vaiṣṇavism in Southern Karnatgaka perhaps with the encouragement of their suzerains.

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*426 EC VII (old ed) Sk 53. * 427 EC V (new ed) TN 227, 229, etc.

*428 EC IX (old ed) Cp 127, 129, etc.

*429 ASMAR 1942, No. 5 and 6 of the eleventh century.

*430 EC VII (new ed) Ml 160. *431 Supra, Section 8, pp 365ff, fn. 264 -7.

*432 EC V ( new ed) TN 230. * 433 Ibid, TN, 233. *434 Ibid TN 229.

But the Cōḷas do not themselves make any grants for these Vaiṣṇava shrines whereas they actively patronized the Kōlāramma temple enshrining the Saptamātṛkas at Kōlār, granting the income from the revenue of several villages in Kuvaḷāla nāḍu for that temple *435.

Apart from these temples mentioned in inscriptions we may notice here the various Vaiṣṇava icons which have been assigned to this period by art historians. These icons reveal to us the various forms in which Viṣṇu was worshipped in our region. At Suttūr *436 (Nanjanagūḍ taluk) the Nārāyaṇasvāmi temple enshrines an image of Varadarāja which has been assigned to the Gaṅga period. This image in high relief has its front hands disposed in the abhaya and varada mudras while the back hands hold the cakra and śankha. The mace is in the background behind the right front arm. It wears a tall tumbler shaped Kirīṭa and is adorned with necklet, Yajñōpavīta a girdle and bracelets. Similarly, the Varadarāja temple at Maddūr (Maṇḍya district) which is either a pre-Cōḷa or an early Cōḷa structure enshrines an image of Janārdana holding padma, cakra, śaṅkha, and gadā *437.

Another late Ganga Viṣṇu temple was situated at Hangaḷa (Guṇḍlupēṭ taluk, Mysore district). Although the Varadarāja temple here now enshrines a Hoysaḷa period image, the original image is to be found in the navaranga of the temple. This icon of Mādhava has its front right hand disposed in abhaya mudrā while the two back hands hold the cakra and śankha. The front left hand holds a lump of butter-an iconographic feature with no parallels *438 but which perhaps evokes the pastoral Kṛṣṇa. The image has been assigned to the tenth century on stylistic grounds.

The Kodaṇḍarāma temple at Hiremagaḷūr (Chikmagaḷūr taluk, district) was probably originally built in AD 879 but was almost entirely reconstructed in the Hoysaḷa period.

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* 435 EC X (old ed) Kl 112(a), Kl 111 of AD 1022, 1028.

*436 ASMAR 1944, P 19. *437 ASMAR 1946, P11

*438 ASMAR 1937, PP 17-18

At the Southern end of the temple enclosure is an image of Mādhava which has been assigned to the Ganga period. Three of its hands hold a padma, cakra and śankha while the fourth is placed on the thigh (kaṭihasta) *439.

The structure of the Yōga Narasiṁha temple at Mācheri (Kaḍūr taluk, Chikmagaḷūr district) is datable to c.AD 900 on stylistic grounds but unfortunately, the original image is now lost and is replaced by a thirteenth century icon of Yōga Narasimha with crossed legs tied by a broken yōgapaṭṭa, front heads freely resting on the knees and back hands holding the śankha and cakra. The main image is supported by small figures of his consorts on either side. The daśāvatāras of Viṣṇu are carved on the prabhāvaḷī. It is not known how far this image resembles the original icon *440.

The remaining instances belong to the eleventh century A.D. Of these the Yōga Narasiṁha temple at Agara (Yelandur taluk, Mysore district) enshrines a beautiful image of the deity seated with its legs tied by a yogapatta in a yoga posture. The two front hands are freely hanging down while resting on the knees while the two back hands hold cakra and śankha. It is open-mouthed showing tongue and fangs but in a peaceful mood. A small Lakṣmī is etched on the right breast and a third eye adorns the forehead *441.

Another Yōga Narasiṁha temple of the Cōḷa period is situated at Daḍaga (Nāgamangaḷa taluk, Maṇḍya district). The main image of Yōga Narasiṁha is seated in yōgāsana with knees tied up in yōgapaṭṭa, the forehands rest on the knees while the other hands hold cakra and śankha. The face and mane are well-worked and the expression is peaceful *442.

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*439 ASMAR 1931, P22

*440 ASMAR 1942, PP.56-57.

*441 ASMAR 1938, P26

*442 ASMAR 1940, p.54-55.

A temple of Narasimha is situated at Mārehaḷḷi (Maḷavaḷḷi taluk, Maṇḍya district) and is referred to as the Rājāśraya Viṇṇagar-āḷvār *443 in inscriptions. The main image of this temple depicts the deity seated in sukhāsana with Lakṣmī on his lap. It is depicted with an open mouth but a peaceful expression. The deity's hind hands hold the cakra and śankha while the fight front hand is disposed in abhaya mudrā and the front left holds Lakṣmī's arm. Lakṣmī holds a lotus in her left hand while her foot rests on a padmā near which a kalaśa is placed. The tōraṇa of the image is serpentine with the ten avatars of Viṣṇu depicted on the edge *444. The Report does not specify the avataras.

While the Narasimha temples at Daḍaga, Agara and Mārehaḷḷi are situated in areas which came under Cōḷa domination in the early eleventh century the Cintāmaṇi Narasimha temple at Kubaṭūr (Sōrāb taluk) depicts the deity in a form peculiar to the Shimoga district *445. The image of Narasimha in the garbhagṛha is two-handed. It is seated with the right knee folded up and the left in padmāsana. The face is that of a natural lion. The period of this image is probably late Cāḷukyan (eleventh or twelfth century) although this has not been clearly stated by the editor.

Finally, we may consider the peculiar image of Janārdana found at Pāḷya (Hāssan district) which has been assigned to the eleventh century. The image is in samabhanga posture and holds the prayōga cakra and śankha in its back hands. One of the forehands is disposed in abhaya mudrā while the other is placed on the thigh (kaṭi hasta). It wears a jaṭāmakuṭa, makara kuṇḍala, yajñōpavīta, kaupīna, gracefully flowing ghaṇṭas armlets wrestlets, anklets and necklaces. The form thus depicted is said to represent all the Trimurtis, the jaṭā indicating Śiva, ghaṇṭā indicating Brahmā and the conch and discus, Viṣṇu *446.

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*443 Supra, p 396, fn 430 *444 ASMAR 1938, PP 39-40

*445 ASMAR 1941, P 100.

*446 ASMAR 1942, P21.

The above survey reveals that in Southern Karnātaka Viṣṇu was most often depicted as a four-armed deity bearing the śankha, cakra, gada and padma. The god was usually portrayed in the standing posture with the various attributes; the śankha and cakra are invariably associated with him while the other two are sometimes left out to depict the god instead as extending protection and boons to the devotee. The Pāḷya image of Janārdana represents this class in its most developed form as it portrays the deity encompassing the supreme trinity. It is possible that these Viṣṇu images foreshadow the Hoysaḷa period when images corresponding to the twenty-four chief names names of Viṣṇu *447 were sculptured in Vaiṣṇava temples.

Narasiṁha was the other popular form in which Viṣṇu was worshipped. This form became particularly popular in the period of Cōḷa rule in Southern Karnāṭaka. The Yōga Narasimha is the most frequently worshipped icon in this period.

According to T.A Gopinatha Rao, Yōga Narasimha is another name for the Girija Narasimha, a variety of image which conceives of the deity as coming forth from a mountain cave *448. This aspect of Narasimha has been shown to be the most suitable for the Hinduization of tribal deities. Accentuating this is the Tantric character of Narasiṁha who is often worshipped together with Lakṣmī who alone had the power to appease him and with whom he had an amorous relationship *449. Although the Yōga Narasimha images studied above depict him with Lakṣmī (at Mācheri and Mārepalli) or with Lakṣmī etched on his breast (as at Agara) and thus epitomize the Tantric character of the god, the deity's fierce aspect which is a major component of the Girija Narasimha form *450 is never brought out except at Agara where the image is adorned with a third eye on the forehead, an attribute of Śiva in his fierce form,

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*447 T.A.Gopinatha Rao, Elements of Hindu Iconography, (Madras 1915), Vol.I, Pt.I, p 227. *448 Ibid, pp 149-150.

*449 A. Eschmann, "The Vaisnava Typology of Hinduization and the origin of Jagannatha", in Eschmann, Tripathi and Kulke (ed), op.cit, p 111.

*450 Ibid, p.106.

we have suggested earlier that the Yōga Narasimha images might have been the result of influence by the Jainas and Śaivas with their emphasis on dhyāna and yōga. The yōgapaṭṭa adorning the Yoga Narasimha images bring to mind the standard depiction of Jaina self-mortifiers in niṣidhis at Śravaṇabēḷgōḷa *451. However, that may be, the thereomorphic form of this deity, particularly in the Chintāmaṇi Narasimha of Kubaṭūr would indicate its potential as an agent of Hinduization and might explain its popularity.

Sculptural friezes depicting puranic legends relating to Viṣṇu in temples *452 the few icons of Viṣṇu in the temples of this region and the contemporary literary works reveal an awareness of Vaiṣṇava mythology and iconography at least among the literati in society. Thus in the Pampa Bhārata the iconographic conception of Viṣṇu as the four-armed deity who bore the conch, discus and mace *453 and as reclining on Ananta on the milk ocean *454 find mention. The childhood exploits of Kṛṣṇa as cowherd *455 and the slayer of demons such as Khara and Dhēnukā *456 and the subduer of the serpent Kāliya are also referred to. Ranna's Gaddāyuddham describes Kṛṣṇa as one of the Tripuruṣas, as Ādidēva, asuradhvamsi and Jagadguru *457. The ten avataras of Viṣṇu such as the fish (Animēśādi) are also mentioned therein *458. Pampa specifically mentions the Trivikrama legend in connection with Kṛṣṇa displaying his Virāṭarūpa in the Kaurava court *459.

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*451 S. Settar, Inviting Death, loc.cit.,pp.190 - 94.

*452 Supra, Section C(II), pp.379.

*453 Pampa Bhārata IX.30.

*454 Ibid IV.58, IX.44

*455 Ibid IX 44.

*456 Ibid v, 68.

*457Gadāyuddham II.43.

*458 Ibid, III.44

*459 Pampa Bhārata IX.60.

That this awareness was not translated into popularity of the Vaiṣṇava cult among the upper classes is perhaps to be attributed to the fact that both the Śaiva's and Jainas borrowed elements from Vaiṣṇava mythology and gave it a subordinate place in their weltanschaung. Since sustenance, the function of Viṣṇu in the Trimūrti concept was also attributed to Śiva by the Pāśupatas and Kālāmukhas, Viṣṇu clearly, had a subordinate place in their world view. Indeed, in the Śiva Purāṇa and Linga Purāṇa versions of the Narasimha myths, Śiva as Śarabha destroys Narasimha and merges Viṣṇu into himself *460

The Jainas included the nine Baladēvas and nine Vāsudēvas among their sixty-three salakapurusas. While they produced their own versions of the Vaiṣṇava epics *461 the subordination of the Vaiṣṇava elements is suggested by the fact that the nine Vāsudēvas including Kṛṣṇa are usually depicted as descending to hell on their death and only gradually working their way up the ladder to final liberation *462. Although the Vaiṣṇavas too had a similar conception of Viṣṇu as the supreme, all encompassing deity, this cult could not match either Jainism or Śaivism in popularity. The lack of a monastic order probably was a major factor in the low popularity of Vaiṣṇavism. While the Jaina and Śaiva ascetics actively propagated their faith, the Vaiṣṇavas lacked this influential class of votaries and thus lagged behind Jainism and Śaivism in the construction of temples.

The lack of a monastic order probably led to the growth of a managerial cadre in Vaiṣṇava temples in the early medieval period. The existence of such a cadre is revealed in the Nārāyaṇaswamy temple inscription at Mālūrpaṭna (Channapaṭna taluk) of A.D. 1014 records that the sabhā of Sōḷamādēvi

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*460 Deborah A.Soifer 'The Myths of Narasimha and Vāmana: Two Avatārs in Cosmological Perspective, State University of New York (1991) pp 90-91.

*461 Shaktidhar Jha, Aspects of Brahmanical infludence on Jaina Mythology., Delhi (1978)., p 16.

*462 Ponna's Śāntipurāṇam, V.74, IX.39 Cāvuṇḍarāyapurāṇam, op.cit., p363

Caturvēdimangaḷam received from the temple servants (Kaṇmigaḷ) of Jayangoṇḍa Viṇṇagar Āḷvār temple, 320 kaḷams of paddy from the temple treasury. As interest, the sabhā was to provide specified amounts of paddy to the temple twice annually *463. The Kaṇmigaḷ of this record appear to have been more concerned with the management of temple endowments than with the worship of the deity *464. They are also mentioned in several other records registering grants of land to the same temple *465. But in these inscriptions their functions are not clearly specified.

We do not have references to the Kaṇmigaḷ in any other inscription but we have evidence for the existence of temple treasuries in Vaiṣṇava temples which might have necessitated the presence of a separate managerial cadre. *466

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*463 EC IX (old ed) Cp 129.

*464 R.N.Nandi, Religious Institutions & Cults..., loc.cit., p

*465 EC IX (old ed.) Cp132 & Cp128 of A.D.1007 & Cp133 of A.D.1030.

*466 EC V (new ed.) TN 230 & TN 227 of the early 11th century.

## E) MOTHER GODDESS CULTS:

We have seen earlier that cults of the mother goddesses were to some extent incorporated into Śaivism where the mother goddess as consort of Śiva was an aspect of his all-encompassing nature. But separate temples of the mother goddess also existed. One such example is provided by the Maṇṇe plates of Rācamalla I of AD 828 *467. These record the establishment of the goddess Kiḷta-bāḷ-eṟetti bhaṭāri (goddess famed for her sharp, drawn sword) who has been identified as a form of Śakti by R. Narasimhachar. The temple was situated in the Daḍḍavāḍi village in the Mānya viṣaya and the village itself was granted for the bali, dhūpa and dīpa of the deity. The grant was entrusted to Dēva śarma, a Vaikhānasa. The deity appears to have been a fierce form of the mother goddess and may have been tribal in origin. But the cult was apparently well-integrated into the folds of Purāṇic Hinduism and at least the basic upacāras appear to have been performed regularly.

Such unambiguous information is not available for the cults of the goddess (Bhaṭṭāraki) of Ponriḍuki (Honnuḍike, Tumkūr district) *468 and Bhagavatī of Puttūr *469. Both received grants from the local rulers in the eighth century, we do not know whether these were fully brahmanical cults with canonical worship or merely local cults of some importance which were being promoted by the local rulers and in the process of Hinduization *470.

No such doubts arise in the case of the temple of Bhaḷāri at Periyahoḷma (Nanjanagūḍ taluk). The Śakti Pariṣe of the Kālāmukhas probably sponsored the construction of this purely śakti shrine of Bhaḷāri-Mahādēvar-Bhagavatī for which the twelve of Piriyahoḷma and Ayyapa gāvuṇḍa made a gift of land free of taxes.

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*467 S. Settar, ASMAR 1910-A Study, Vol III, (Dharwad, 1976), No.4, pp 33-34.

*468 K.V. Ramesh, op.cit, No.64.

*469 EC X (old ed) Kl 230.

*470 A Eschmann "Hinduization of Tribal Deities in Orissa.... loc.cit., pp 82-84

Contributions from the land of each okkal and a pair of bullocks were also levied for the temple. The gifts were entrusted to Kūci bhaṭārar the disciple of Bāḷaśakti bhaṭāra of Śakti Pariṣe *471. The fact that the temple was under the management of the Kālāmukhas clearly indicates that the worship of the goddess conformed to the Hindu canon.

Another major shrine of a mother goddess was located at the Jayangoṇḍa Śōḷa Caturvēdimangaḷam an agrahāra in Kaivāra nāḍu *472. The goddess Cāmuṇḍēśvari of this agrahāra was recognized as the guardian deity of the nāḍu as a whole, and the nāṭṭōm bound themselves to provide one goat per inhabitant every Tuesday to the goddess. Evidently, blood sacrifices were regularly offered to the goddess and on a large scale. That this was done in a temple in an agrahāra is surprising for normally brahmanical cults are not associated with blood sacrifices. In some cases Eschmann points out that blood sacrifices are made to the original symbol of the deity while the main Hinduized deity represented by the anthropomorphic image is sheltered from the blood sacrifice by closing the door of the temple *473.

Fuller *474 relates the practice of blood sacrifices to the independent character of the goddess. He observes that independent goddesses generally tend to be fierce, bloodthirsty and unpredictably angry and aggressive. They prefer meat offerings and blood sacrifices and possess people either ritually or through the infliction of illness. Goddesses with male consorts, on the other hand, are normally pacific infrequently angry or aggressive accept only vegetarian offerings and rarely possess human beings. The fierceness and aggressive power of the independent goddesses in his opinion is derived from their chastity and asceticism which generate heat and power involving anger and aggression as well in Hindu mythology.

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*471 EC III (new ed) Nj 294 of AD 977

*472 EC X (old ed) Kl26

*473 A. Eschmann, "Hinduization of Tribal Deities in Orissa", loc.cit.p.90.

*474 C.J. Fuller, "The Divine Couple's relationship in a South Indian Temple, Minaksi and Sundaresvara at Madurai", in History of Religions Vol 19, No.4 (May 1980), p.327.

While Fuller's explanation in terms of Hindu mythological notions is valid to some extent, it is noteworthy that all the features described by him as characteristic of independent goddesses are basic to aboriginal cult deities *475. Thus, Nandi's linkage of blood offerings to the goddess to the process of aboriginal assimilation appears to be more apt. Tribals worshipped the deity with blood rites and this was continued when her worship was adopted by brahmanical groups. Thus the Dēvī Māhātmya and Kāḷikā Purāṇa advocate offerings of blood and flesh from their own bodies to the deity by the devotee*476. This practice is probably the one depicted in the Draupadī ratha at Mahābalipuram and the Singāvaram and Pullamāṅkai temples in Tamil Nadu *477. The Tamil versions of the Mahābhārata incorporate the sacrifice of Aravan, the son of Arjuna and Ulūpi before the altar of Kāḷī, in their accounts. This story is also presented in the festivals of Draupadī in the form of a Terukkūṭṭu drama wherein Aravan sacrifices himself in a pre-war rite which included the Āyudha pūjā to ensure victory to the Pāṇḍavas. A ritual enactment of this story is also performed wherein the pujari and members of the local community worship Aravan and administer cuts on the effigy which stand for his self-mutilation and ultimate sacrifice*478.

Other hints of the aboriginal roots of the worship of the goddess can be glimpsed in the Āryastava which characterizes the goddess as surā-māṁsabali-priyā (delighting in offerings of flesh and wine) *479. In the Dēvī-Māhātmya too, the goddess is said to have had a draught of wine before slaying Mahiṣāsura. In the buffalo sacrifice carried out in village festivals, a pot of toddy may be set before the goddess prior to the sacrifice *480.

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*475 A. Eschmann, "Hinduization of Tribal Deities in Orissa", loc.cit, pp 81-82

*476 R.N. Nandi, Religious Institutions and cults... loc.cit, pp 142-43.

*477. A Hiltebeitel, The cult of Draupadi, Vol.1, Mythologies from Gingee to Kurukshetra,(Chicago, 1988), pp 318-320.

*478 Ibid, Vol 2.On Hindu Ritual and the Goddess, (Chicago 1991), pp 289-299.

*479 R.N.Nandi, 'Religious Institutions and cults ... loc.cit, pp 142 ff

*480 A. Hiltebeitel, "Rama and Gilgamesh - the sacrifices of the water buffalo the Bull of Heaven" in History of Religions, Vol.19, No.3 (Feb.1980) pp 190-91.

That the mother goddess was generally associated with blood sacrifices in the Purāṇas themselves might explain the prevalence of this rite in a temple situated in an agrahāra. Another factor which might explain the prevalence of blood sacrifices is the widespread influence of Tantrism in the early medieval period. Tantrism, as we have seen earlier, adopted many aboriginal rituals such as blood sacrifices, the worship of Yantras etc. *481 and these were focussed on mother goddesses such as Cāmuṇḍēśvari and the saptamātṛkas, and the Jaina Yakṣiṇis. The prevalence of blood rites has been attested to by the Sulidēnahaḷḷi inscription cited above *482. The use of yantra stones to invoke the goddess is brought out by the yantra stone inscribed in tenth century characters found at Bannūr in the vicinity of the Rāmasvāmi temple. The meaning of the inscription is unclear but it is probably a mystic incantation *483. Thus Tantric rites appear to have been very popular in our region in the early medieval period. Two saptamātṛka shrines existed in Kōlār in the Cōḷa period. The Kōlāramma temple and an adjoining subsidiary shrine both enshrine images of Saptamātṛkas. The temple was under the control of Tamil Śiva brāhmaṇas and enjoyed the patronage of the Cōḷa suzerains *484. We have noted above, that the Saptamātṛkas were the foci of Tantric cults in this period. However, whether this held good for the Kōlāṛamma temple is not clear from the evidence. It is interesting to note that in Champakalakshmi's opinion, Śiva-Brāhmaṇas were those temple priests who had been earlier priests of a local cult. *485. In the Cōḷa period at all events they had a gōtra affiliation and were clearly recognized as brāhmaṇas *486. The evidence on the basis of which she draws this conclusion is not clearly stated. The two Śiva-brāhmaṇas mentioned in the Kōlāramma temple inscriptions of the early eleventh century, Śōrṇapuliyan and Viṇakkaḷan were clearly Tamils and not locals of Karnāṭaka.

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*481 Supra, Section A(II) Jaina Pantheon. *482 Supra, p 405 , fn 472.

*483 EC V(new ed) TN 49. *484 EC X (old ed) Kl 112(a) and Kl.111.

*485 R. Champakalakshmi, "Peasant State Society in Medieval South India-A Review Article" in I.E.S.H.R. Vol 18, No.3.4 (1981), p 421.

*486 EC X (old ed) Kl.106 (a) of AD1019-20.

If Champakalakshmi is right in viewing them as having been drawn from aboriginal priesthood, it is possible that the rituals followed in the Kōlāramma temple had aboriginal elements. Inscriptions, however, refer merely to offerings of perpetual lamps (Viḷakku) and arrangements made to meet this ritual *487.

Another Saptamātṛka temple was situated at Suttūr (Nanjanagud taluk) *488 and was designated the Suttūramma temple in an inscription of AD 1032. The temple appears to have been endowed by the wife of a merchant who also had two Śaiva temples constructed at Suttūr. The inscription does not clearly state who worshipped at the mother goddess shrine. But it is possible that the Kālāmukha Brahmalingi bhaṭāra who managed the Śaiva temples of Suttūr also controlled the Suttūramma temple *489.

The popularity of the cults of mother goddesses at the temple level in our region is evident from the large number of images of Mahiṣāsuramardinī Durgā and the Saptamātṛkas ascribable to the period under study *490. Part of this popularity was due to the fact that the goddess was regarded as the bestower of victory in battle. The cult was, therefore, promoted by kings and feudatories. Some lineages such as the Kadambas and Cāḷukyas adopted the Saptamātṛkas as their tutelary deities *491, while a lord of Banavāsi-12,000 is described as the obtainer of a boon from Cāmuṇḍēśvarī *492. At a much later period, navarātra and Daśara with elaborate buffalo and goat sacrifices in honour of Durgā as the goddess of victory (Vijayā) fromed one the the most important royal festivals of the Vijayanagara dynasty *493 and its successor states including the Woḍeyars of Mysore.

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*487 EC X. (old ed) Kl.106(a) and 112(f). *488 ASMAR 1944, pp. 19-20.

*489 EC III (new ed) Nj 215

*490 Supra, Section C(II), fn 332-336 The instances cited here are far from exhaustive.

*491 EC VIII (old ed) Sb.33, 571. *492 EC VII (old ed) Sk. 125.

At a more popular level local goddesses such as Māri were probably worshipped. The mode of worship probably differed little from the modern period when their festival is celebrated by the entire village community as and when the need arises to propitiate them to ward off evil *494 particularly epidemic disease. Blood offerings of buffaloes and goats are generally made by the community and the officiating priests are generally drawn not from the brāhmaṇas but the lower castes, particularly, the potters, barbers, washermen or untouchables who are the primary ritual service castes in village *495. The presence of the deity is conveyed through a medium who in the trance of possession communicates with the devotees. However, our sources provide us with limited evidence on this point. Māri is the only local goddess we can identify and she is merely conceived of as a terrific, destructive deity *496. Whether she was also conceived of as the deity who afflicted with small pox as she is known today is not known although it is very likely to be the case.

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*493 A. Hiltebeitel, The Cult of Draupadi, Vol.1, Mythologies, Op.cit. pp.44-45.

*494 H. Whitehead, Village Deities of South India, Reprint, (New Delhi, 1983) p.16; Richard L. Brubaker "Barbers, Washermen and other priests : Servants of the South Indian Village and its goddess", in History of Religions, Vol 19, No.2 (Nov 1979), p 130.

*495 Ibid, pp 131 ff; W.C. Beane, Myths, Cults and Symbols in Śākta Hinduism, A study of the Indian Mother - goddess; (Leiden, 1977), p 37.

*496 EC IV (new ed) Ch 164, EC VI (new ed) Sr 78.

## F) CULTS OF THE DEIFIED DEAD

The practice of worshipping the dead can be traced back to the Sangam period. Sangam works speak of the divine as dwelling in hero stones (vīrakal or naṭukal) which commemorated a hero killed in battle. These stones which were worshipped by warriors going to battle, were set up under a shady tree decorated with flowers and peacock feathers and enclosed in a canopy of cloth. The hero's spear and shield were placed close to it. The spear and peacock feathers suggest links with the worship of Murugan, the Tamil god par excellence in whom the Sangam ideals of beauty, love and heroism were presonified on the divine plane *497. Murugan was worshipped with flower garlands and music. He could also induce possession not only in the vēlān, the shaman, but also in any individual dancing the vēriyāṭu (the dance of wild frenzy) in worship.*498

Music and dance serving as a catalyst for possession, is even now a central feature of the modern local cults of the deified dead such as the Tēyyam in North Kerala, the vilpāṭṭu in southern Tamil Nadu and pāḍ-dana of coastal Karnāṭaka. Oral performance of the deity's story is a primary feature of all these cults. The narrative high point of such performances is the death of the hero-a point at which the deified dead possesses his human mediums. The principal reason for this appears to be the fact that their deification was a result of their untimely, violent death *499.

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*497 R. Thapar, "Death and the Hero" in Humphreys and King (ed) Mortality and Immortality : The Archaeology and Anthropology of the concept of Death, London, 1987, p.301.

*498 F. Hardy, Viraha-Bhakti; the early history of Kṛṣṇa devotion in South India, OUP, (New Delhi, 1983) pp. 133-34 & 138-39.

*499 Stuart H. Blackburn, "Death and Deification : Folk Cults in Hinduism" in History of Religions, Vol. No.3, (Feb 1985) p 258

Kurup, in his study of the memorial stones of Keraḷa distinguishes between the practice of sitting up of hero stones and the cult of Teyyam with its possession rituals. He observes that the practice of erecting hero stones existed only till the thirteenth century after which it appears to have been given up. Instead the cult of Teyyam developed, incorporating within itself the worship of several folk heroes.
Thus the practice of worshipping the dead passed into the realm of performing arts*500. This also appears to be the case with the neighbouring district of South Kanara where few memorial stones have been found *501 but defied heroes such as Kōṭi and Chennayya are worshipped in festivals incorporating, music, dance and possession. However, in both the Teyyam and Bhūta cults, the insignia of the deified spirit, such as a sword or spear are placed or a wooden pitham within a sthānam or sana which are plain rectangular, windowless structures adjoined by an open portico of twin pillars. The structure of these sthanams is reminiscent of Megalithic chamber tombs *502 while the placing of the sword or spear recall the Śangam practice of placing the spear before the naṭukal. Strong continuities from the Megalithic and Śangam periods thus mark the modern cults of the deified dead. It remains to be seen whether the distinction made by Kurup between the practice of erecting hero-stones and observance of festivals involving possession can be sustained on the basis of evidence for early medieval southern Karnataka.

The custom of erecting hero-stones for heroes who fell in battle is first attested to by the Kallur vīrgal which commemorates the death of Pabbhu in the battle of Rakkasanūru in the sixth century *503. The practice appears to have been more popular and widespread in the second phase.

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*500 K. K. N. Kurup, "Memorial Tablets in Kerala", in S. Settar and G.D. Sontheimer (ed) Memorial Stones : A study of their variety and significance, (Dharwad 1986) pp.243-250.

*501 S. Settar, "Memorial Stones in South India", in Ibid, p.187.

*502 Ibid, p 190.

*503 K.V. Ramesh, Op.cit, No.28

Hero stones both purely commemorative and donative dating to the eighth, ninth and tenth centuries are found in hundreds throughout the region under study *504. It came to be believed that the hero slain in battle was transported to heaven by the apsaras eager for union with him. This is depicted on hero stones which by the eleventh century usually have three panels - the lowest depicting a battle, the middle one showing the hero being carried to heaven by one or two apsaras and the third with the hero in heaven sometimes worshipping a liṅga *505. Literary works such as the Pampa Bhārata *506 or Ranna's Gadāyuddham *507 and Ajita Tīrthakara Purāṇam *508 also attest to this belief. The Śangam practice of warriors seeking the blessings of the slain hero is also demonstrated by Ranna's Gadāyuddham wherein Duryōdhana pays his respects to the mortal remains of Abhimanyu and prays for a fraction of his valour and a heroic death to match it *509.

Beyond this, we have little information on the rituals of the worship of hero-stones. The one vīrgal inscription to mention such worship is the Āṭakūr vīrgal which as we have seen specifically states that the gōrava ruling the Callēśvara temple before which the memorial stone was set up must worship the stone before taking his meal *510. This would imply that the vīrgal was worshipped daily and since the worship was carried out by Saiva ascetics it probably consisted of the basic upacāras of offering gandha (sandal paste), dhupa,

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*504 Chapter IV, Section E

*505 ASMAR 1942, p.201; Inscriptions also bring this out. For instance EC VIII (old ed) Sb 22 of the late eighth century and EC XII (old ed) Si 26 of the tenth century both mention the hero being carried to heaven by the suravadhū.

*506 Pampa Bhārata X.45.

*507 Gadāyuddham IV.21-22.

*508 Ajita Tīrthakara Purāṇam, I.48

*509 Gadāyuddham IV.57.

*510 EC VII (new ed) Mu 42.

(incense), dīpa (lamp), puṣpa (flowers) and naivedya (food) *511 It may be instructive to examine the rituals associated with Aravan, the self-sacrificing hero of the cult of Draupadī. The priest of the local Draupadī temple offers dīpārādhanā to the effigy of Aravan with lighted camphor. Then administering a few cuts to the effigy and cutting up a pumpkin to represent his self-mutilation and sacrifice, he flings up rice mixed with blood to feed Aravan *512.

Such blood rites may not have been followed by the gorava at Āṭakūr as violating his basic vow of ahimsā. But in the case of Akaṭega whose self-sacrifice is recorded in the vīrgal at Ḥecche *513 a rite similar to that observed for Aravan may well have been followed. Akaṭega's was a self-sacrifice to ensure an heir for his lord. The king Śāntivarma of Heṛdese then made a grant which was entrusted to the Mahājanas of Eḷase for the maintenance of rituals at the memorial, in all probability. We have seen in the instance of the Cāmuṇḍēśvarī temple of Jayaṅgoṇḍa śōḷa caturvēdimaṅgaḷam *514 that blood sacrifices could be performed in temples in agrahāras. In the case of the Hecche vīrgal the memorial is not stated to be located in an agrahāra nor were the Mahājanas the officiating priests. They were merely responsible for ensuring the maintenance of the memorial.

While the Āṭakūr and the Hecche vīrgals relate to worship offered to the hero-stones themselves, the Toṇaci inscription (Krishṇarājapēṭe taluk, Maṇḍya district) of the close of the tenth century *515 records the grant of thirty Koḷagas of land made by the Peralke heggaḍe and the gāvuṇḍa of Toḷañje for the festival (parba nimittaṁ) of Aṅkakāṛadēva. An Aṅkakāṛa is a leading hero or an influential servant of a lord *516.

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*511 Supra Section C.

*512 A. Hiltebeitel, The Cult of Draupadi, Vol 2, On Hindu Ritual and the Goddess, (Chicago, 1991)-pp291-292. *513 EC VII (old ed) Sb 479 op.c.AD 991.

*514 Supra, Section E, p 405, fn 472. *515 EC VI( new ed) Kr.51.

*516 F. Kittel, Op. cit. q.v. Aṅkakāṛa

The reference to a festival might imply an oral performance of the hero's story such as is part of modern hero cults. The Toṇaci epigraph is apparently not a vīrgal and mentions in addition to Aṅkakāṛadēva, Mahādēva and Mōriyadēva as well. It is possible that Aṅkakāṛadēva was enshrined in a subsidiary shrine within the precincts of the local Śaiva temple. At all events the inscription does not clarify whether the deified hero was represented by a vīrgal or by his insignia as in the cult of Bhūtas or Teyyam. In any case, if the suggestion that the festival of Ankakāṛadēva consisted of the oral performance of his story be accepted, it would mean that the early medieval Kaṅnaḍigas honoured deified heroes both by setting up hero stones and holding possession-oriented rituals. Whether these two modes were combined or were mutually exclusive alternatives cannot be discerned at present.

Another method of deification was the practice of setting up samādhi shrines for the deceased. This was done both for heroes who perished in battle *517 and for religious preceptors such as Mahēśvara Kaliyuga Rudra *518 and Mauni bhaṭṭāraka *519. Such a practice of setting up Śivālayas named after the dead is authorized by the Āgamas which speak of religious edifices in which the deceased were enshrined in the form of a linga or a portrait relief. Such shrines were found in Tamil Nāḍu as well where they were termed paḷḷipaḍai *520.

Māstikals (memorial stones for a sati) form another category of memorials erected for the deceased. We have but three instances of sati, i.e. widows following their husband after death. Of these, only one appears to have been commemorated by erecting a māstikal. This Māstikal was found at Mallandūr (Sāgar taluk, Shimoga district) and bears an inscription of the tenth century.

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*517 Supra, Section C(I), p. 374 , fn 306, 307.

*518 EC X (old ed) Mb 67. *519 Supra Section c(III), p 394 , fn 419

*520 S.Settar "Memorial Stones in South India", loc.cit, p.185.

It has the large figure of a Mahāsati with her right hand raised *521 - a characteristic feature in the depiction of a sati *522.

An inscription from Kāvaḍi (Sōrāb taluk, Shimoga district) of the fifth century A.D. records the death of Ravivarman, the son of Kadamba Mṛgeśavarman, and his queen (rājñi) who was liberated along with him *523. This might represent the earliest example of sahagamaṇa in our region.

Clear evidence for Sati comes from the Ajita Tīrthakara Purāṇam of Ranna composed at the end of the tenth century. This records the self-immolation of Guṇḍamabbe the sister of Attimabbe, Ranna's patroness, following the death of their husband Nāgadeva in a battle *524.

The Pampa Bhārata depicts the wives of warriors resolving to perform self-immolation on the eve of the battle in case of their husband's death *525. However, the practice was not yet very popular in this period. It is else inconceivable that in a region where the practice of erecting memorial stones was so widespread, there should be only one Mastikal and one epigraphic reference to Sahagamana.

In sum worship of the dead appears to have been a common practice in our region in the early medieval period. The erection of a hero stone was a major expression of such devotion particularly after the eighth century. These hero-stones may have been worshipped but the details of such rites cannot be clearly discerned. We also have a reference to a festival in honour of a deified hero which after modern parallels, perhaps consisted of a performance of his story. Since

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*521 ASMAR 1941, p.74.

*522 M. Chidanandamurti, "Two Māsti Temples in Karnataka". in
S. Settar and G.D.Sontheimer (ed), op.cit, p 129.

*523 EC VIII (old ed) Sb 523.

*524 Ajita Tīrthakara Purāṇam I.46-48.

*525 Pampa Bhārata X 45

the inscription recording this festival was not a <u>vīrgal</u> it is not clear whether such festivals formed part of the rites of worship associated with memorial stones.

Āgamic Śaivism incorporated the worship of the dead through the custom of erecting Śivālayas in their name, where worship in accordance with Āgamic injunctions was evidently carried out. Both laymen who perished in battle as well as preceptors were thus honoured though the latter had a higher spiritual status as <u>mumukṣus</u>.

## CHAPTER VII

## CONCLUSION

The topography and climate of southern Karṇāṭaka favoured a mixed farming regime of cattle and sheep-harding together with agriculture which was based both on the seasonal rainfall patterns and on the development of irrigation projects, principally tanks. This seems to have been the pattern from the earliest period in our region.

Since our sources primarily record grants for temples, brāhmaṇas or secular assignees they chiefly mention wet lands where paddy was the preferred crop. These lands were evidently preferred for grants. We have scant references to dry lands. In some cases the category of granted land is not specified but this cannot always be taken as evidence that they were dry lands. Apart from paddy, millets, sejje and sugarcane also find mention in inscriptions. Among fruits grown we have reference to plantains, areca and coconut plantations. Flower gardens were often granted to temples for meeting ritual requirements.

Both wet lands growing paddy and garden lands (tōṇṭa, tōṭṭa) required irrigation for maintaining high levels of yields. In the region under study the major source of irrigation were tanks to which we have innumerable references. Tanks together with channels and natural streams are frequently mentioned in boundary descriptions. They also helped demarcate one field from another. Tank construction was actively undertaken by the ruling elite of every level from kings, queens and feudatories down to the local landed elite such as the gāvuṇḍas and Mahājanas. We have even some references to construction of irrigation works by artisans. That tank construction was a major factor in agrarian expansion was clearly recognized. Consequently grants of land or the yield of land were made by the rulers to the individuals who constructed tanks for the maintenance of the tank. A graduated increase in taxation on newly irrigated lands seems to denote a desire on the part of the rulers to convert dry lands to wet lands which clearly had higher yields.

Tank construction was also a major factor in the spread of agricultural settlement over space and probably resulted in the emergence of new hamlets which were then considered part of the larger settlement and its subsidiaries. However, literary works associate hamlets or pallis with tribal settlements. This association is not brought out in inscriptions except in one case where a palli is described as a shepherds' settement. However the fact that the majority of the inscriptions referring to pallis record their grant to an individual, or a temple or a brahmadēya might indicate a process of acculturation whereby tribals were subordinated to the ruling elite.

Agriculture and cattle and sheep-rearing do not appear to have been mutually exclusive. We have no evidence of pastoral nomads although it is possible that the Bēdas belonged to this category. However beyond their predatory cattle raids we have no evidence to support this contention. They too might have practised swidden agriculture. Among settled populations agriculture and pastoralism went hand in hand. Cattle herds were possessed by the gāvundas, the upper stratum of the peasantry, to judge from a reference to a gōsāsa gāvunda and their frequent participation in cattle raids. Ownership of cattle herds was not restricted to gāvundas. Merchants and artisans too possessed cattle and trade in cattle and milk products might perhaps be posited.

From descriptions of village boundaries we gather the impression that houses were generally situated in the centre of the village. References to streets and houses are scant in our inscriptions but, in at least one case it appears that streets were aligned around temples in cardinal directions. The directional layout is also indicated in two other instances. A street also appears to have been a discrete social unit but it is not clear whether the individuals residing there shared an occupational or caste identity though it is probable given that each occuptional group had access to different sources of water.

Although inscriptions give us considerable information on field layout the details are insufficient for a complete picture. Nevertheless it would seem that natural features such as hillocks and streams together with tanks and their channels were the

chief landmarks used to demarcate one field from another. We have references to open fields (bayal) within which lands were granted. It is unclear however, whether these were similar to the open fields of the medieval European agrarian system. We also appear to have a reference to an enclosed field. References to waste lands, forest lands and pastures are also available but their location vis-a-vis the cultivated fields is not specified. The grants of such lands to individual, beneficiaries would point to the erosion of common rights within the village.

As with rural settlements incriptions give us no clue as to the physical form of urban centres. Fortifications are attested to in the case of Banavāsi and Āsandi and temples and houses are mentioned in most cases. But no clear strect plan emerges. Literary descriptions though exaggerated may be taken as supplying this gap. Both inscriptions and literary works point to the importance of the capital, which was considered the domain of the ruler and the centre of the realm. The urban centre emerges from our sources as the administrative centre of the kingdom which gradually developed with growing trade and commerce into a centre of trade. Manufacture and artisanal activity is, in comparison, neglected by our sources. References to artisans come chiefly from rural contexts. Temples and monasteries were in addition to administration and trade, factors of importance in the growth of urban centres.

Larger politico-geographical units were known in the earlier period as visayas and later as nāḍus. The numerical suffixes appended thereto probably signified the number of settlements included in the unit. Nāḍus appear to have been primarily agrarian units which were used by the rulers as administrative units as well. In southern Karnāṭaka we do not have much evidence for corporate bodies at the nāḍu level. Instead Nāḍu chieftaincies prevailed, with Nāḷgāvuṇḍas holding away over a nāḍu and participating in the political developments in their region. Pergaḍes too have been associated by Stein with nāḍu chieftaincy but they appear to have been essentially rulers of individual settlements only.

Until the emergence of the Gaṅgas in the fourth century A.D. we do not have evidence of a state structure in Southern Karnāṭaka. Conical clan chiefdoms similar to

those of the vẹḷir chiefs of the peripheral areas of Tamil Nadu probably existed here during the Megalithic and Early Historic phases. Southern Karṇāṭaka in this period enjoyed limited contacts with the neighbouring states in Northern Karṇāṭaka and the proto-states of Tamil Nāḍu. It was probably due to the stimulus provided by their northern neighbours that the Gaṅgas who were possibly one of the chiefly clans of the region established a state here towards the end of the fourth century. They adopted all the trappings and insignia of royalty current in that period - a gōtra and kula affiliation, patronage of brahmanical Hinduism and heterodox faiths for legitimation of their new-found authority and a royal court and administration modelled on those of their northern neighbours.

The Gaṅgas' earliest base appears to have been the region around Kōlār. Over the next two centuries they expanded their realm by conquest and matrimonial alliances to cover the modern districts of Kōlār, Bangalore, Tumkūr, Mysore, Maṇḍya, Hāssan, Chikmagaḷūr, Coorg and the Kongu region of Tamil Nadu. Their relations with the major powers of the region fluctuated. The Paṟuvi Gaṅgas were clearly subordinate to the Pallavas but theTalakāḍ Gaṅgas who supplanted them appear to have been independent. In the seventh century, the Vātāpi Cāḷukyas claim to have reduced the Gaṅgas to submission. While the Gaṅgas do not acknowledge any overlord, the fact that they cooperated in Cāḷukyan campaigns against the Pallavas would indicate their subordinate status. At the same time, Gaṅga records present them as overlords over an array of subordinates of obscure origins. In the second phase, Gaṅga hegemony over their dominions which had come to be designated as Gaṅgavāḍi was repeatedly challenged by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and then by the Cōḷas. They also faced serious threats from subordinate lineages such as the Nōḷambas and Bāṇas who established themselves in the Eastern division comprising Kōlār, Bangalore and Tumkūr districts and did not acknowledge Gaṅga suzerainty.

In the first phase the brāhmaṇas who were the major recipients of land grants appear to have helped to establish the administration of Gaṅgas. It was a result of their pervāsive influence that the records of the first phase reflect a patriarchal brahmanical social order. A few chiefs (arasar) are also mentioned but their role, in inscriptions, appears limited to the execution of royal grants. In the second phase

although patronage of Vaidika brāhmaṇas continued, they had to share eleemosynary grants with temples and sectarian brāhmaṇa preceptors who generally acted as trustees of temple grants. They not merely administered temple affairs but exercised powers analogous to those of a lay administrator over the lands and villages granted to the temple. In this sense they formed but one section among many of landed magnates. The brāhmaṇas represented the sacred domain and provided a means for the validation of temporal power.

Unlike the first phase when we have few references to lay lords, in the second phase, these sections enjoyed a numerical preponderance over the brāhmaṇas and temple trustees. The Gaṅgas, Nọ̄lambas, Bāṇas and Vaiḍumbas and other lineages appear to have had enclaves within Gaṅgavāḍi. The wide geographical distribution of these lineages came about as a result of partition of lineage territory among members of the royal family, conquest, alliance or voluntary submission. Petty rulers of indeterminate or tribal origins formed another section of the variegated ranks of feudatories.

Service assignees who owed military service to their overlords were a major section of the landed intermediaries. Inscriptions record many instances of subordinates marching to battle at the command of their lord. They received grants as reward for meritorious service. Here, unlike in medieval Europe, service assignments were made subsequent to the performance of military service. Literary works indicate that the service assignee was obliged to fight for his lord, an obligation which is termed Jọ̄lada pāḷi.

The uppermost stratum of peasant landholders, the gāvuṇḍas constituted another section of landed intermediaries. Gāvuṇḍas acted as headmen at both the village and the nāḍu levels. As headmen and local notables they demarcated the boundaries of grant lands and acted as witnesses . They apparently collected taxes on behalf of the ruler together with the Nāḷbōvas. While the gāvuṇḍu could be bestowed by the King as a reward for military service, it was largely heritable by the tenth century.A gāvuṇḍu probably included a complex of rights including land, houses,water,and other rights and privileges such as enjoyment of taxes. Gāvuṇḍas

were bound to Kings by strong ties of dependence. They bore the King's titles and owed him military service for which they received lands as reward. They appear to have participated in the factional politics of the period as some inscriptions from Shimoga bear witness. They were in fact recognized as members of the feudatory hierarchy and are named after the Mahāsāmanta ruling a unit in most records.

While individual gāvuṇḍas ruled over the village as headmen, we also have references to corporate groups of gāvuṇḍas, who enjoyed the power to alienate waste lands to individuals and controlled the settlement of tenants in a village. They also had a militia of their own like the Mahājanas and the mercantile corporations.

Kings thus did not enjoy monopoly of military force. While they had their own armies with warriors bound to them personally as a jōlavāḷi or a vēlevāḷi, they had perforce to draw on the support of their feudatories and corporate militias for major expeditions. The relations between the King and the vassal fluctuated and the cooperation of these subordinate groups was dependent on the existing power relations and perceived commonalty of interest between the overlord and the vassal.

The early medieval state in Southern Karnataka was feudal in nature. It was characterised by a vast class of landed intermediaries, ranging in rank from a mahāsāmantādhipati to the humble dependents of heroes. These landlords extracted surplus in the form of rent, siddhāya and taxes such as kiṟudeṟe, aṭṭadeṟe, sāmantadeṟe, pattondi and aydondi. Numerous other taxes are mentioned in the epigraphic corpus, which would point to the heavy burden placed on the cultivators. These taxes were farmed out to subordinates pointing to the process of sub-infeudation. However we do not have any actual examples of eviction of peasants as its consequence. We do have one reference to the settlement of new peasants at Kiṟupēlnagara in the ninth century Vijayapura inscription, but this does not appear to be at the expense of the earlier tenants. The tenants (okkal) who were organized in corporate groups in many areas enjoyed inalienable rights over their holdings. They suffered from the imposition of higher graded rights over their lands by the landlords to whom they owed rent and taxes.

In addition to these exactions the peasants were required to feed the army on the march, perform forced labour and lend their bullocks for carting services and perhaps for ploughing the land of the fief-holder. We also have evidence that tenants were bound to the land for the duration of their lords' lives. Their position was made worse by the whittling away of communal rights of pasture in forest and waste lands by their grant to private individuals.

The state attempted to protect the tenants' interests by specifying the taxes to be collected by the beneficiary and even stipulating the amount. But there was little it could do to prevent abuse once the grant was made in perpetuity. The position of tenants was ameliorated to some extent by the influence wielded by corporate groups who often won tax exemptions from the local ruler.

Literary works class cultivating tenants and the vassals owing military service on par. The ethos of the period demanded dedicated service from the military retainers and the vassals to their lord in return for the subsistence received. Such ties were exemplified by the vẹ̄ḷevaḍicas who bound themselves to commit suicide at the death of their lord or lady. Higher ranking feudatories, however, often reneged on their commitment if the overlord was weak. Power, commonality of interest and ties of blood were as important in holding together the political structure as ties of obedience. This may have been due to the nature of service assignments in our region - a permanent grant made subsequent to service rather than conditional on the performance of service as in Europe. In this, as in the absence of a seigneurial system, the social formation of our region differed from the classical West European feudal order.

We have seen earlier that the proponents of the integrative polity do not reject in toto the applicability of the feudal model to early medieval India. Their strength lies in the delineation of the political processes of the early medieval period. But they fail to elaborate on its socio-economic basis. Similarly the segmentary state hypothesis is inapplicable to our region and period, since the Gaṅgas and more emphatically the Cōḷas exercised more than ritual sovereignty over Gangavāḍi. Under the latter, an organized bureaucracy controlled tax assessment and collection even in this peripheral province. Its other major features were parcellized sovereignty and lack of monopoly of force at the centre which is

characteristic of the feudal model as well. The feudal social formation thus appears to be best fitted to the evidence at our disposal.

In the field of religion, Vedic brāhmaṇism enjoyed the maximum state patronage in the first phase, which led to their emergence as a powerful group in the landed aristrocracy. Their participation in administration further strengthened their privileged position. In the second phase, with decreasing patronage to Vedic brāhmaṇism it was sufficient for brāhmaṇas entering Government service to emphasise their lineage - as coming from Śrōtriya brāhmaṇa families already enjoying land in an agrahara. This was one method of adapting to decreasing patronage. Another was participation in Purāṇic forms of worship. Mahājanas patronised temples of Visnu, Śiva and the mother goddesses. They even constructed shrines for heroes and acted as trustees for such temples. Jainism too enjoyed material support in the first phase. But it gained in popularity in the second phase when we have evidence of the construction of a large number of basadis. They derived support primarily from the upper echelons of the ruling class. Low ranking feudatories and small landholders seem to have preferred Śaivism.

Women of aristocratic families were prominent patrons of Jainism. This appears surprising in view of the fact that the Digambaras who held sway in this region assigned women a lower status, hoding that they could not achieve salvation in the same birth. One can only suggest that women of this period found the Jaina doctrine that the soul could be freed from its bondage by one's own efforts more attractive than the rival Kālāmukha view that humans were totally dependent on the grace of Śiva for liberation. The prominence of women among the patrons of Jainism had another consequence. The nuns in practice enjoyed a great deal of influence in this region.

Jaina shrines were by and large simpler than Śaiva temples both in their physical structure and organisation. The structure was limited to a garbhagṛha, a sukhanāsi and a navaraṅga. Subsidiary shrines of subordinate deities and friezes depicting Purāṇic legends are not attested to in this period in Jaina basadis although they had begun worshipping Yakṣis such as Jvālāmālinī and Padmāvatī. These Yakṣis were the foci of

Tantric cults in the late tenth century. But the Jinas and Pañcaparameṣṭhins were the primary deities.

The Jainas had a strong monastic order from the very beginning. In the early medieval period they lost ascetic rigour and settled down permanently in monasteries. They were trustees of Jaina shrines, a development which appears paradoxical in view of their vow of non-possession. An important aspect of Jaina monastic organisation in this period was the reduced size of many monastic groups - a feature which gives the impression of a great deal of proliferation. Even as new groups emerged, the unit of organisation was the gaṇa or gaccha which consisted of three to four members. In these groups the preceptor became all powerful and was considered the means of deliverance of his disciple. Adoration of preceptors grew into a cult by itself with the erection of memorial shrines for the ācāryas.

Śaivism had a wider social base than Jainism enjoying patronage of gāvuṇḍas and corporate groups in addition to high ranking feudatories. Partly this may be due to the fact that it was entirely a temple-based cult and the energies of the monks were directed entirely to garnering support for temple construction. For the Jainas temple construction was important but represented a deviation from their original stress on rigorous ascetic practices. The Śaivas did not suffer from such dualism although their monks too followed an ascetic regimen simlilar to that of Jainas. Vaiṣṇavism did not enjoy as much support as the other two since we have evidence of fewer Viṣṇu temples in this period.

Some records specify that rulers were devoted to particular deities; but when they made grants to donees of other sects they were described as votaries of those sects. This would show that sectarian differences did not have a segregative reflection on the social base. Hence husband and wife could be devoted to different deities and a devotee of Śiva could also be described as a Vaiṣṇava or a Jaina.

Yōga Narasiṁha among the Vaiṣṇavas and the Liṅga for the Śaivas were the most popular icons owing to their acculturative capacity. Similarly the worship of the mother goddesses was extremely popular as a result of the process of absorption of

tribal cults. Tantric practices involving blood sacrifice, mystic incantations and the worship of Yantras and Cakras are attested to in this period and can be attributed to the same cause.

Cults of the deified dead were widespread in the second phase. The erection of hero stones and festivals which perhaps involved the performance of the story of their deification were major expressions of such devotion. Āgamic Śaivism also incorporated the worship of the dead through the erection of the Śivālayas in their name. Both lay men and preceptors were thus honoured though the latter had a higher spiritual status as mumukṣus. Sati was comparatively rare in this period although literary works often refer to it.

Rituals in temples of all sects involved the offering of the basic upacāras of dīpa, dhūpa, gandha, naivedya and abhiṣeka. Among the Jainas the aṣṭāhnīka pūjā, an eight-day festival was the most popular rite. Abhiṣēka was also very important for them. For the Śaivas, Vaiṣṇavas and Śāktas, the offering of a perpetual lamp and naivedya are most often attested to. While Śaiva temples generally had Kālāmukha monks as managers, Vaiṣṇava shrines had a separate managerial cadre termed the Kaṇmigaḷ in the early eleventh century.

Aṅgabhōga and raṅgabhōga were temple rituals associated with the dēvadāsis who were modelled after palace prostitutes. They were sexually exploited by the senior members of the temple staff and the principal patrons. In Jaina temples we do not have any evidence for these female servants of the deity.

Thus the early medieval state in Southern Karnataka under the aegis of the Gaṅgas saw the spread of settlements over most of the region. More and more social groups and tribes were drawn into the ambit of the state. In order to legitimise their power the rulers drew on numerous religious traditions.

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## APPENDIX I - REFERENCES TO POLITICO - GEOGRAPHICAL UNITS

| S.No. | POLITICO - GEOGRAPHICAL UNITS | SETTLEMENTS THEREIN | DATE | REF. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 1. | Paruvi viṣaya and its sub-division Peraṭi bhōga. | Karu - ūr | 5th century | K.V.Ramesh, Inscriptions of the Western Gangas,No.5. |
| 2. | Paruvi viṣaya | Malligūr grāma and within it Ponnamuri grāma. | 5th to 6th centuries | S.Settar, ASMAR 1911- A study p.135,No.2. |
| 3. | Parivi nāḍu. | -- | 8th to 9th centuries | S.Settar, ASMAR 1910- A study,vol III, p.39-40. |
| 4. | Paruvi viṣaya | Paruvi | AD 799. | K.V.Ramesh, op.cit.,No.50. |
| 5. | Pērūr viṣaya | Kuḍiliyam grāma | 5th century | K.V.Ramesh, op.cit.,No.6. |
| 6. | Korikunda bhōga | Palliūr grāma | 5th to 6th centuries | K.V.Ramesh, op.cit.,No.14. |
| 7. | Korikunṛa viṣaya | Penna-ūr grāma | 6th century | K.V.Ramesh, op.cit.,No.19. |
| 8. | Korikunda viṣaya | Cennel karaṇi grāma Also ref.to Perūr | 6th century | K.V.Ramesh, op.cit.,No.12. |
| 9. | Korikunda viṣaya | Nallālam grāma | 6th century | K.V.Ramesh, op.cit.,No.25. |
| 10. | Kerekunda - 300 | -- | 8th century | EC IX (old ed) Hs.86. |
| 11. | Kirukundācci nāḍ | -- | AD 1029 | EC IX (old ed) Nl 1. |
| 12. | Marukara viṣaya | (i) Kūtalūr (ii) Pērūr | 5th century | ASMAR 1930, pp 259-65. |
| 13. | Marugare rāṣtra | Tippur Also ref.to Melur but unclear whether it belonged to this unit. | 5th to 6th centuries | K.V.Ramesh, op.cit.,No.16. |
| 14. | Marukara viṣaya | (i) Panapura grāma (ii) Kolāpalli grāma | 5th to 6th centuries | ASMAR 1916, p 34-35. |

## APPENDIX I - REFERENCES TO POLITICO - GEOGRAPHICAL UNITS

| S.No. | POLITICO - GEOGRAPHICAL UNITS | SETTLEMENTS THEREIN | DATE | REF. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 1. | Paruvi viṣaya and its sub-division Peraṭi bhōga. | Karu - ūr | 5th century | K.V.Ramesh, Inscriptions of the Western Gaṅgas,No.5. |
| 2. | Paruvi viṣaya | Malligūr grāma and within it Ponnamuri grāma. | 5th to 6th centuries | S.Settar, ASMAR 1911- A study p.135,No.2. |
| 3. | Parivi nāḍu. | -- | 8th to 9th centuries | S.Settar, ASMAR 1910- A study,vol III. p.39-40. |
| 4. | Paruvi viṣaya | Paruvi | AD 799. | K.V.Ramesh, op.cit.,No.50. |
| 5. | Pērūr viṣaya | Kuḍiliyam grāma | 5th century | K.V.Ramesh, op.cit.,No.6. |
| 6. | Korikunda bhōga | Palliūr grāma | 5th to 6th centuries | K.V.Ramesh, op.cit.,No.14. |
| 7. | Koṛikunṛa viṣaya | Penna-ūr grāma | 6th century | K.V.Ramesh, op.cit.,No.19. |
| 8. | Koṛikunda viṣaya | Cennel karaṇi grāma Also ref.to Perūr | 6th century | K.V.Ramesh, op.cit.,No.12. |
| 9. | Koṛikunda viṣaya | Nallālam grāma | 6th century | K.V.Ramesh, op.cit.,No.25. |
| 10. | Kerekunda - 300 | -- | 8th century | EC IX (old ed) Hs.86. |
| 11. | Kirukundācci nāḍ | -- | AD 1029 | EC IX (old ed) Nl 1. |
| 12. | Marukaṛa viṣaya | (i) Kūtalūr (ii) Pērūr | 5th century | ASMAR 1930, pp 259-65. |
| 13. | Marugaṛe rāṣṭra | Tippur Also ref.to Melur but unclear whether it belonged to this unit. | 5th to 6th centuries | K.V.Ramesh, op.cit.,No.16. |
| 14. | Marukaṛa viṣaya | (i) Paṇapura grāma (ii) Kolāpalli grāma | 5th to 6th centuries | ASMAR 1916, p 34-35. |

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| 15. | Marugare.(Incidental ref.) | -- | 5th to 6th centuries | K.V.Ramesh, op.cit.,No.15 |
| 16. | Point Ededinde in Marugare visaya | Agali | AD 748 | K.V.Ramesh, op.cit.,No.42. |
| 17. | Marugare nādu | -- | 8th century | EC XVI (rev.ed) Tm.98. |
| 18. | Marugare nādu-300 | -- | 8th to 9th centuries | EC XVI (rev.ed) Tm 86. |
| 19. | Ededinde-70 in Marugare visaya | Perjjarangi grāma | AD 819 | EC V.(new ed) Kn 49. |
| 20. | Marugare nādu | -- | Saka 188 9th century characters. | K.V.Ramesh, op.cit.,No.4. |
| 21. | Kuvalāla rāstra | Kuvalāla | 5th century. | K.V.Ramesh, op.cit.,No.157 |
| 22. | Kōlāla visaya | -- | AD 634-35 | K.V.Ramesh, op.cit.,No.29. |
| 23. | Kovalāla nādu-300 | -- | 8th century | ASMAR 1926-27, pp. 34-35 |
| 24. | Kuvalāla nādu-300 | Agali | 8th century | EC X (old ed) Mb 80. |
| 25. | Kovalāla nādu-300 | -- | 8th century | EC X (old ed) Sp.57. |
| 26. | Kovalāla nādu | -- | 8th century | K.V.Ramesh, op.cit.,No.54. |
| 27. | Kovalāla nādu-300 | (i) Santanur (ii) Erediyur ref.to unclear which nadu they belonged to | 8th century | EC X (old ed) Mb 255. |
| 28. | Kovalāla nādu-300 | -- | 8th to 9th centuries | ASMAR 1926. p.87-88,No.100. |
| 29. | Kuvalāla nādu in Nigarili sōla mandalam | Surūr Purakuttai also ref. to but unclear to which nadu it belonged. | C.AD 991. | EC X (old ed) Kl 75. |
| 30. | Kuvalāla nādu in Nigarili sōla mandalam | (i) Kuvalāla (ii) Pākkam... | C.AD 997 | EC X (old ed) Kl 106(c) |
| 31. | Kuvalāla nādu in Ganga-1000 (?) | (i) Kuvalāla (ii) Araiyūr | AD 1006-7. | EC X (old ed) Ml 106(b) |

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| 32. | (i)Kuvalāla nāḍu in Nigarili solā mandalam alias Nulambapadi (ii)Also ref. to Tiraimūr nāḍu in Uyyakoṇḍa valanādu in Sola maṇḍalam. | Kuvalāla | AD 1019-20 | EC X (old ed) Kl 106 (a) |
| 33. | Kuvalāla nādu in Nigarili śola-maṇḍalam. | (i) Kuvalāla (ii) Paśaipāl | AD 1022-23 | EC X (old ed) Kl 112 (a) |
| 34. | Kuvalāla nādu in Nigarili śola maṇḍalam. | (i) Kuvaḷāla (ii) Piragampaḷḷi | c.AD 1028 | EC X Kl 111. |
| 35. | Kaivāra viṣaya | (i) Cukuttūr (ii) Vīramaṅgaḷa hamlet. | 5th century AD. | K.V.Ramesh, op.cit.,No.7 |
| 36. | Kaivāra nāḍ | Varukanūr | 9th to 10th century | EC IX (old ed) Hs 12. |
| 37. | Kayvāra nāḍ | -- | c.950 AD | EC IX (old ed) Hs 37. |
| 38. | Kaivāra nāḍu in Nigarili sola maṇḍalam alias Nōlambapādi | (i) Jayaṅgoṇḍacatur vēdi maṅgalam. (ii) Gangapaḷḷapura | AD 1017-18 | EC X (old ed) Kl 26. |
| 39. | Kaivāra nādu | Vikkiramaśolapura | c.AD 1028 | EC X (old ed) Kl 111. |
| 40. | Mudukottūr viṣaya | Pērbolal grāma. Also ref.to Kumārapura. Not clear which nadu it belonged to. | 5th century | EC X (old ed) Mr 73. |
| 41. | Pudoli viṣaya | Koḍunjeruvu grāma | 5th to 6th centuries. | K.V.Ramesh, op.cit.,No.15. |
| 42. | Pudalnāḍa rāṣṭra | (i) Koḷiṛtūr village (ii) Rēḍi-ūr | 6th century | K.V.Ramesh, op.cit.,No.21. |
| 43. | Pudalnāḍa rāṣṭra | Koḍunjeruvu grāma. Also ref.to Korgaṭṭur to which the donees belonged.Unclear which nadu it was affiliated to. | 6th century | K.V.Ramesh, op.cit.,No.24 |
| 44. | Podalnāḍu-60 | -- | c.AD 880 | EC X (old ed) Sp.50. |
| 45. | Pudalnādu in Ganga sāyaram (1000 ?) | Arumōlidēva catur-vedimaṅgalam | AD 1003 | EC X (old ed) Mb 123. |
| 46. | Vanne viṣaya's peruka bhōga. | Tippēru. | 6th century | EC XII (old ed) Mi 110. |

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| 47. | Sendraka visaya | Sangamapura | 5th century | EC VIII (new ed) Hn 10. |
| 48. | Vallavi visaya-8000 | (i) Keregalur<br>(ii) Posavalli<br>(iii) Midundavalli<br>(iv) Kacapalli<br>(v) Katullamali. | 5th century | EC VIII (new ed) Hn 10. |
| 49. | Sendraka visaya and its sub-unit vallavi desa. | Palaccoge grama. Also ref.to<br>(i) Anandur<br>(ii) Sikkamba.<br>Nadu unit not specified. | 7th century | ASMAR 1918 p.35-36 |
| 50. | Devalge visaya | Kirumundamiri nakara. | 5th century | EC VIII (new ed) Hn 10. |
| 51. | Devalige - 70 | (i) Uppavalli<br>(ii) Muguli<br>(iii) Cennayur<br>(iv) Palmadi<br>(v) Ammale<br>(vi) Kiriyamuguli<br>(vii) Mulevalli<br>(viii) Nallur<br>(ix) Magunda<br>(x) Teguru. | AD 959-60 | EC VI (old ed) Cm.42. |
| 52. | Sindhuthaya rastra | Ankatataka grama. | 5th century | EC VI (old ed) Kd 162. |
| 53. | (i) Sinda visaya<br>(ii) Its sub-unit Manale -alke-300 | Belpura in the western part of Manale -alke-300,on the eastern bank of Penne river. | AD 750-51 | EC VI (old ed) Mg 36. |
| 54. | Sinda nadu-8000 | -- | 9th century | ASMAR 1920, p.24. |
| 55. | Manale-300 | (i) Kannatur<br>(ii) Kadabavalli<br>(iii) Colayur<br>(iv) Suligodu<br>(v) Kurivalli<br>(vi) Bellur<br>(vii) Biratur<br>(viii) Hemmalige<br>(ix) Hebbarala | AD 1025 | EC VIII(new ed) Al 8. |
| 56. | Sindhamma nadu Ref.to battle over this unit. | Kellangere | 9th to 10th centuries AD. | EC V (old ed) Ak.99. |
| 57. | Tagare janapada. | Malavalli | 8th century. | ASMAR 1920.p.23. |

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| 58. | (i) Tagare nāḍu-70 a sub-unit of (ii) Sinda nāḍu-8000. | -- | 9th century | ASMAR 1920,p.24. |
| 59. | Tagare nāḍ | Ref.to Kogōḍu which allied with Tagare nāḍ to repel an invasion-perhaps not part of the nāḍu. | 10th to 11th centuries | ASMAR 1939,No.3 |
| 60. | Pumrāṣṭra: adorned with the Kāverī and Kapini rivers. | -- | 6th century AD. | EC IV (new ed) Yl 167. |
| 61. | Punnāḍu-6000. | -- | 8th to 9th centuries | EC III (new ed) Nj 129. |
| 62. | Punnāḍa Eḍenāḍu viṣaya | Badaṇeguppe grāma. | AD 808. | EC III (new ed) Nj 278. |
| 63. | (i) Punnāḍu (ii) Its sub-unit Eḍenāḍu-70. | Badaṇeguppe grāma. | Year 388. (AD 466?) 9th century characters. | EC I (new ed) No.1. |
| 64. | Punnāḍu-6000 | Ref.to (i)Bāṇalli (probably included in the nad) (ii) Tarekāḍ (iii) Māyidiḷage (iv) Posavaḷḷi. | 10th century | EC IV (new ed) Ch 115. |
| 65. | Eḍenāḍu | (i) Nagarala (ii) Sakkile (iii) Bēlgundūru (iv) Kiṟuvēlgundūru (v) Sathyūru (vi) Singūru | 10th century | EC III (new ed) Nj 239. |
| 66. | Eḍenāḍu | Piriyahoḷḷa | AD 977 | EC III (new ed) Nj 294. |
| 67. | Eḷevolal viṣaya | Salivoge grama to the north-east of Banavasi nagara. | AD 692 | EC VIII (old ed) Sb 571. |
| 68. | Tōramara viṣaya | Citrasēḍu grāma-site of the vijayaskandhā vāra of Vinayāditya caḷukya. | AD 692 | EC VIII (old ed) Sb 571. |
| 69. | Keregōḍu viṣaya | (i) Keregōḍu. (ii) Pallavataṭāka-created after construction of a bridge over river Kiline by joining four hamlets-brahmadēya. | AD 713 | EC VII (new ed) Md 35. |

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| 70. | Keregodu nadu visaya | (i) Ballane volal grama (ii) Ganigur (iii) Sandigala (iv) Keregodu. Also ref.to (i) Singavur (ii) Irggare (iii) Anesasalu (iv) Kottanur (v) Banagundur (vi) Ambalmadi (vii) Kamandali Nadu unit not specified. | AD 733 | EC XVI (rev.ed) Gb 75. |
| 71. | Nirggunda visaya | (i) Ponnalli (ii) Erenallur (iii) Srivur | AD 776-77 | EC VII (new ed) Ng 149. |
| 72. | Nirggunda nadu-300 | Viravur | 8th century | EC V (old ed) Cn 208. |
| 73. | Nirggunda visaya | Kedasur | 9th century | K.V.Ramesh, op.cit.,No.113. |
| 74. | Ganje nad. [Incidental ref.] | -- | 5th to 6th centuries | K.V.Ramesh, op.cit.,No.15. |
| 75. | Ganje nad | -- | 7th to 8th centuries | EC IV (new ed) Ch 347. |
| 76. | Ganje nadu. | Viyavur ref.to but its nadu affiliation not clearly specified. | 8th century | EC X (old ed) Mr 96. |
| 77. | Ganje nadu. | -- | Saka 188,9th century characters. | K.V.Ramesh, op.cit.,No.4 |
| 78. | Hodali visaya | (i) Bedirur (ii) Kolattur (iii) Uttanur (iv) Mukkutal (v) Tondala (vi) Poliyur (vii) Dasanur. | AD 634-35. | K.V.Ramesh, op.cit.,No.29. |
| 79. | Hodali visaya | (i) Mudiyanur (ii) Uttagrama (iii) Kolattur | AD 338 (?) probably a record of the 9th century AD. | EC X (old ed) Mb 157. |
| 80. | Tegattur visaya | Baradur grama | AD 725-26. | EC V (new ed) Kn 48. |
| 81. | Vadakare nadu-300 | -- | 8th century AD | EC V (new ed) TN 120. |

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| 82. | Vadagare nadu-300 | (i) Puvagama<br>(ii) Mudugundur | 8th century AD. | EC VII (new ed) Ml 122. |
| 83. | Badagare nadu-30 | Bageyuru | Saka 188. (9th century characters) | K.V.Ramesh, op.cit.,No.4. |
| 84. | Badagare nadu | Dhanaguru | AD 960 | EC VII (new ed) Ml 50. |
| 85. | Tore-Badagare nadu | (i) Appogal<br>(ii) Kulattur<br>(iii) Husaguru<br>(iv) Babbagilu<br>(v) Kolanulur<br>Also ref.to<br>(i) Kottamangala<br>(ii) Ganiganur<br>(iii) Talakadu<br>(iv) Madduru | AD 969 | EC III (new ed) Nj 262. |
| 86. | Kunungil nadu | Bisigur | 8th century | ASMAR 1914-15, p.41. |
| 87. | Kunungil-500. Also ref.to Salne nad-300 | Ref.to Nandigunda but its nadu unit is not specified. | 9th to 10th centuries | EC IX (old ed) Dv.43. |
| 88. | Karika nad. Also ref.to Palikkari nad. | Bidirkkal | 8th century | EC IX (old ed) Bn 36. |
| 89. | Erikalavadi-600 | Keregala | 8th century | EC XII (old ed) Mi [illegible]. |
| 90. | Erigalavadi-600 | Ref.to<br>(i) Kangapadi<br>(ii) Vallabhavadi<br>(iii) Kandakotta<br>but their nadu unit not clearly specified. | 8th century | EC XII (old ed) Mi 93. |
| 91. | Erigalavadi-600 | -- | 8th century | EC XII (old ed) Mi 92. |
| 92. | Keregadu-70 | Perggane | 8th century | EC III (new ed) Nj 147 |
| 93. | Aridalke-70 | (i) Dhannagavadi<br>(ii) Potevadi<br>(iii) Peruvathyur<br>(iv) Mardur. | 8th century | EC III (new ed) Hg 90 |
| 94. | Vyalekal nad | Talgiyur | 8th century | EC III (new ed) Gu 42. |
| 95. | Karbappu nad-1000 | (i) Olnulu<br>(ii) Kovalavettu grama | 8th century | EC VII (new ed) Md 14. |

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| 96. | Edettore nādu-1000 | Ūr-name lost | 8th century | EC V (new ed) My 183. |
| 97. | Edettore nādu | -- | 8th century | EC III (new ed) Nj 193 |
| 98. | Edettore nādu-1000 | Vēdirūr ref.to. But unclear whether it belonged to this unit. | 9th century | EC III (new ed) Nj 192. |
| 99. | Edettore nād. | -- | AD 1021 | EC III (new ed) Nj 201. |
| 100. | Gaṅga-6000 and its sub-unit Kuvaḷāla-300. | Agaḷi | 8th century | EC X (old ed) Mb 80. |
| 101. | Gaṅga-6000 | — | 8th century | EC X (old ed) Sp 57. |
| 102. | Gaṅga-6000 and its sub-unit Kuvaḷāla nādu-300 ref.to. | Ref.to (i)Śāntanūr (ii) Eredīyūr Nādu unit not clearly mentioned. | 8th century | EC X (old ed) Mb 255 |
| 103. | Gaṅga-96,000 and its sub-units (i)Kuvaḷāla nādu-300 (ii) Agaḷi-12 mentioned. | -- | 8th to 9th centuries AD | ASMAR 1926, p.87-88,No.100. |
| 104. | Gaṅga-6000 | -- | 8th century | EC X (old ed) Kl 235 |
| 105. | Gaṅga-6000 and its sub-unit Pomkunda-12. | -- | 8th century | EC X (old ed) Bp 48. |
| 106. | Gaṅga maṇḍala. | (i) Mānya nagara (ii) Śālmali grāma (iii) Kiṟuvakkūr grāma (iv) Perjjāḍi. (v) Balamaṅgaḷa | AD 798 | EC IX (old ed) Nl 60. |
| 107. | Gaṅga-6000 | Ref.to (i) Sūṟūr. (ii) Murggepāḍi Nādu affiliation of both unclear. | 9th century | EC X (old ed) Kl 79. |
| 108. | Gaṅga maṇḍala | -- | 9th century | EC X (old ed) Mb 248. |
| 109. | Gaṅga-6000 | Nelligeḷda | 9th century | EC IX (old ed) Hs 9. |
| 110. | Gaṅga-6000 | Marangaḷ | 9th century | EC X (old ed) Bp 64. |
| 111. | Gaṅga-6000 | Baṅgavāḍi | 10th century | EC X (old ed) Kl.198 |

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| 112. | Ganga śayaram.(1000?) and its sub-unit Pudal nāḍu. | Arumoli dēva Caturvēdimangalam | AD 1003 | EC X (old ed) Mb 123. |
| 113. | Ganga śayaram and its nadu. | (i) Kuvalala (ii) Agaivūr | AD 1006-7 | EC X (old ed) Kl.106 (b) |
| 114. | Pomkundu-12 | Ref.to (i)Koyattūr (ii) Kogali (iii)Tayalūr but their nāḍu affiliation not clearly specified. | 8th century | EC X (old ed) Bp.13. |
| 115. | Pomkunda-12 | -- | 8th century | EC X (old ed) Bp.48. |
| 116. | Āvanya nāḍ-30 | Ref.No.114 above. | 8th century | EC X (old ed) Bp 13. |
| 117. | Āvanya nāḍ-30 | Ref.to Manayatūr | 8th century | K.V.Ramesh, op.cit.,No.72. |
| 118. | Elenagar nāḍ-70 | Ref.No.114 above. | 8th century | EC X (old ed) Bp 13. |
| 119. | (i) ....taya nāḍu-12. (ii) Belattūr nāḍu (iii) Pulvaki nāḍu-1000 (iv) Bēpoḍu-1000 (v) ....nāḍ-60 Incidental reference. | -- | 8th century | EC X (old ed) Sp. 57. |
| 120. | Morasa nāḍu. | (i) Perpusūru (ii) Kottur | 8th century characters. | K.V.Ramesh, op.cit.,No.3 |
| 121. | Morasu nāḍu. | Marūru | 9th century | EC IX (old ed) Bn 40. |
| 122. | Āsandi nāḍ | (i) Āsandi (ii) Cannavūr | 8th century | EC VI (old ed) Kd 145. |
| 123. | Āsandi nāḍ | (i) Kalikatti (ii) Arakere | 9th to 10th century | EC XV (rev.ed) Ak 215. |
| 124. | Āsandi nāḍ | Bāsanūr | 9th to 10th century | EC VI (old ed) Kd 141. |
| 125. | (i) Āsandi nāḍ-500 (ii) Ballāvi nāḍ (iii) Mysūr nāḍ-70 ref.to. | Ref.to Battiyūr but unclear which unit it belonged to. | 10th to 11th century | EC VI (old ed) Kd.9 |
| 126. | Kuruvale visaya | Ālūr village with hamlet Vaydeūt. | AD 799. | K.V.Ramesh, op.cit.,No.50. |
| 127. | Koyattūr-12,000 | Ref.to Nandi,its nāḍu unit not mentioned. | AD 810 | EC XVII (rev.ed) CB 66. |

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| 128. | Kūmbaḍi kiḷale nāḍu. | (i) Kiṟupēlnagara<br>(ii) Kolattūr<br>(iii) Mūḷūr. | 9th century | EC V (new ed)<br>TN 145. |
| 129. | Guḷdapāḍi | Kappahaḷḷi | AD 870 | EC V (new ed)<br>TN 257. |
| 130. | Sire nāḍ. | Nāndūr | AD 878 | EC XII (old ed)<br>Si 38. |
| 131. | Gholali nad. | (i) Oreyūr<br>(ii) Bāragūr<br>Also ref.to<br>(i) Dharmapoḷala<br>(ii) Siyavūr<br>(iii) Tailōkapoḷala<br>(iv) Peṁjeṟu | c.880 AD | EC XII (old ed)<br>Si 24. |
| 132. | Mānya viṣaya | Koṭṭimba grāma | AD 799 | K.V.Ramesh,<br>op.cit.,No.50 |
| 133. | Mānya viṣaya | Doḍḍavāḍi grāma | AD 828 | S.Settar,ASMAR 1910-A study,<br>vol III,1976,No.4<br>p.32-34. |
| 134. | Maṇṇe nāḍ-300 | -- | AD 968 | EC IX (old ed)<br>Ma 75 |
| 135. | Maṇṇe nāḍ | Baḷevāḍi | AD 1029 | EC IX (old ed)<br>Nl 1. |
| 136. | Koṅgal nāḍu | -- | AD 870-71 | EC III (new ed)<br>Nj 385 |
| 137. | Koṅgal nāḍu | -- | 9th century | EC VI (new ed)<br>Kr 20 |
| 138. | Koṅgal nāḍu-8000 | Kūrgallu | 10th century | EC IV (new ed)<br>Pp.28 |
| 139. | Nekkundi nāḍ | Ref.to (i)Bellampaṟavi<br>(ii) Pulikuṟukki<br>But unclear which nāḍu they belonged to. | c.AD 850 | EC X (old ed)<br>Kl 200. |
| 140. | Nekkundi nāḍ | -- | c.AD 880 | EC X (old ed)<br>Ct 36 |
| 141. | Nekkundi nāḍ | -- | c.AD 950 | EC IX (old ed)<br>Hs 37. |
| 142. | Magare viṣaya | Ālūr | 9th century | K.V.Ramesh,<br>op.cit.,No.113. |

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| 143. | Kesumannu nādu | Ref.to (i)Gundigal (ii) Bāgeyūr but their nadu affiliation not specified. | 8th century | EC XVI (rev.ed) Tm 95,96. |
| 144. | Puli nādu-60 | Ref.to Kundatūr | c.890 AD | EC X (old ed) Mb 243,244. |
| 145. | Puli nādu | Ref.to (i) Halayūr (ii)...ndūru | c.900 AD | EC X (old ed) Sp 85. |
| 146. | Nulambavādi | -- | 8th century | ASMAR 1941, No.45,pp 220-21. |
| 147. | Nolvabba rājya | -- | 8th century | EC VII (new ed) Mu 36. |
| 148. | Nōlambavādi-32,000 | -- | 10th to 11th century | EC X (old ed) Sp 59. |
| 149. | Nulambavādi alias Nigarilisōla mandalam and its sub-unit Kaivāra nādu. | (i) Jayangonda caturvēdi mangalam (ii) Gangapallapura. | AD 1017-18 | EC X (old ed) Kl 26. |
| 150. | Nigarilisōla mandalam alias Nulambapādi and its sub-unit Kuvalālanādu. | Kuvalāla | AD 1019-20 | EC X (old ed) Kl 106 (a) |
| 151. | Beddoregare | Biliūr and its 12 pallis. | AD 888. | EC I (new ed) No.96. |
| 152. | Beddoregare | (i) Peggadūru (ii) Posavadaga | AD 978 | EC I (new ed) No.98. |
| 153. | Sīge nādu | -- | 9th century | EC IV (new ed) Ch 385. |
| 154. | Māmgudi nād | (i) Māmandūr (ii) Pērvoguli (iii) Kiruvuguli. Not clear whether they belonged to this unit. | 9th century | K.V.Ramesh, op.cit.,No.86 |
| 155. | Tore nād-500 | Kodagūr | 8th to 9th century | EC III (new ed) Hg 46. |
| 156. | Tore nād-12,000. Also ref.to Dibbigāra-70. | -- | 9th to 10th century | EC IV (new ed) Pp 117. |
| 157. | Ere nād. | -- | 9th century | ASMAR 1922-23, No.4, p40 |
| 158. | Kolūr nād. | -- | 9th to 10th century | EC VI (old ed) Cm 133. |
| 159. | Bayal nād. | -- | 9th to 10th century | EC III (new ed) Hg 5. |

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| 160. | Bayal nāḍ. | -- | 10th century | EC III (new ed) Hg 23. |
| 161. | Bayal nāḍu | Ālattūr | 10th century | EC III (new ed) Gu 219. |
| 162. | Pūrva Bayalnāḍu | Maṉalevāḍi | 10th century | EC V (new ed) My 223. |
| 163. | Bayal nāḍ | Maṉali | 10th century | EC III (new ed) Hg 110. |
| 164. | Bira Bayal nāḍ | Magge | AD 998-99 | Magge. |
| 165. | (i) Nugu nāḍ. (ii) Navale nāḍ | Kōttamaṅgala in one of these two units, invaded by people from Bayal nāḍ. | 9th to 10th century | EC III (new ed) Hg 5. |
| 166. | Nugu nāḍu | Belatūru | AD 1020 | EC III (new ed) Hg 58. |
| 167. | Saḷne - 300 | Ref.to Nandigunda, nāḍu affiliation not specified. | 9th to 10th century. | EC IX (old ed) Dv. 42. |
| 168. | Saṇṇe nāḍ. | Ref.to (i)Kirugūḍalu. (ii)Piriya Maṭṭivūr (iii)Ālūr (iv)Piriya śeṭṭimaṅgaḷa. | AD 1029. | EC IX (old ed) Nl 1. |
| 169. | Bempūr-12 | (i) Bempūru. (ii) Tovagūru (iii) Pūvina Pullimaṅgala (iv) Kutanīḍu Nallūru (v) Komaragunḍu (vi) Nallūru (vii) Iggalūru (viii) Dugmonelmaḷḷi (ix) Gaḷamyavāgilu (x) ...śarāmu (xi) Elkuppe (xii) Paravūru kūḍal. | 9th to 10th century | EC IX (old ed) Bn 83. |
| 170. | Amaniya nāḍu-30 | Ref.to Tāyalūr | 9th century | EC X (old ed) Mb 248. |
| 171. | Bhīmane nāḍu-300 | -- | 9th century | EC X (old ed) Sp 50. |
| 172. | Bāge-ūr nāḍ. | -- | 9th century | EC X (old ed) ct 124. |
| 173. | ....pari nāḍ. | Kiruparavi. Also ref.to Ānandur, its nāḍu unit not specified. | 9th century | EC X (old ed) Sp 19. |

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| 174. | Kilka nād. | Piriya Bidirūr | 10th century | EC X (old ed) Gd 4. |
| 175. | Uramari nād. | Ref.to Kirūr but it is unclear whether it belonged to this nadu. | 10th century | ASMAR 1926, p.71,No.63 |
| 176. | Cāki nādu | -- | 10th century | EC XII (old ed) Si 55. |
| 177. | Kumāra nād | Malavalli | 10th century | EC V (new ed) TN 130. |
| 178. | Kotu nād | Tāttanūr | 10th to 11th century | EC V (new ed) TN 57. |
| 179. | Adirāru-12 | -- | 10th century | EC III (new ed) Nj 197. |
| 180. | Kuppanād in Gangavādi-32,000 | Manabūr agrahāra | AD 976-77 | EC IV (new ed) Pp.133 |
| 181. | Kongu nād-70 | -- | 10th century | EC V (new ed) Kn 41. |
| 182. | Baladalastala | Cikkānya | 10th century | EC V (new ed) My 198. |
| 183. | Kelale nādu | Belatūru | AD 949-50 | EC VII (new ed) Mu 42. |
| 184. | Kelale nādu | Punganūru-an agrahāra (?) | c.AD 1007, AD 1007, AD 1017. | EC IX (old ed) Cp 47; 130,92, |
| 185. | Kilalai nādu in Gangavādi | (i) Piriya Malavūr alias Irājendirasinga Caturpēdimangalam (ii)Manalūr and its suburb Nigarili śōlapuram. | AD 1007, AD 1014, c.AD 1015, AD 1029. | EC IX.Cp.128,132, 127,139,91. |
| 186. | Kilalai nādu in Gangapādi | Vāndūr,alias śōlamahadēvi Caturpēdimangalam | AD 1007, AD 1014. | EC IX (old ed) Cp. 132,129. |
| 187. | Kilalai nādu in Mudigondaśōlamandalam. | Punganūr alias Trayilōkiyamādēvi caturvēdi mangalam. | AD 1017. | EC IX (old ed) Cp 42. |
| 188. | Kilalai nādu in Irājentira śōla valanādu in the northern part of Mudigondaśōlamandalam. | Irājentirasinga caturpēdimangalam. | AD 1024 | EC IX (old ed) Cp 84. |
| 189. | Ātakūr-12 | Ātakūr | AD 949-50 | EC VII (new ed) Mu 42. |

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| 190. | Bēlvōla-300 | Kadiyūr | AD 949-50 | EC VII (new ed) Mu 42. |
| 191. | Māgali nādu | (i) Rājapolala-a royal residence(bidu) (ii)Araniyūr. | AD 972. | EC VII (new ed) Ng 99. |
| 192. | Kundūr nād | An ūr-name lost | AD 997 | EC VII (new ed) Md 67. |
| 193. | Kalkali nad. | (i)Ulanūr (ii)Panaravādi-not included in this unit. | AD 970 | EC V (old ed) Cn 267. |
| 194. | Kalkali nād | (i)Neṭṭūr (ii)Kottamangala | AD 971 | EC V (old ed) Cn 262. |
| 195. | Marandale maryāde | Nerilage | AD 971-72 | EC XV (rev.ed) AK 237. |
| 196. | Mandali nād-1000 | Mullugere | 10th century | ASMAR 1935, No.33,pp 110-111. |
| 197. | Mandala nād. | -- | 10th century | K.V.Ramesh, op.cit.,No.137. |
| 198. | Mandali nād-1000 | Gangavūr | 10th century | EC VII (old ed) Sh 24. |
| 199. | Idainādu in southern Gangavādi | Tadimālingi | AD 1004-1014 | EC V (new ed) TN 230. |
| 200. | Idai nādu | Marudur | 11th century | EC V (new ed) TN 227. |
| 201. | Idainādu in Gangaikondasōla valanādu in Mudigondasōlamandalam | Jananāthapuram alias Tadimālingi | AD 1015-16 | EC V (new ed) TN 233. |
| 202. | Idai nādu in Mudigondaśōla-mandalam. | Mayilangai alias Jananāthapuram. | AD 1021-22 | EC V (new ed) TN 229. |
| 203. | Mysūr nād-70 | Ref.to Battiyūr. Its unit not specified. | 10th to 11th century. | EC VI (old ed) Kd 9. |
| 204. | Maisu nādu | Nandigunda | AD 1021 | EC III (new ed) Nj 201. |
| 205. | Ref.to (i)Te...nād. (ii)Bammagāvundana nād. (iii)Rājēndra ćola nād. | Ref.to Maravūr. Its unit not specified. | AD 1021 | EC IV (new ed) Hs 4. |
| 206. | Ballegula | Balambu tīrtha | AD 1012-13 | EC VI (new ed) Sr 78. |

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| 207. | Kuḍugu nāḍu. | (i)Pasuguli<br>(ii)Kellasur<br>(iii)Tuppor<br>(iv)Kandamangala<br>(v)Himmisoge<br>(vi)Kellur<br>(vii)Nittare. | AD 1028-29 | EC III (new ed) Gu 28. |
| 208. | Śatapaḷa aṟu aṟuvattu. | -- | AD 1027 | ASMAR 1939, No.34. |
| 209. | Vidyādhara nāḍu | -- | 10th to 11th century. | EC VI (old ed) Kd 144. |
| 210. | Kadamba maṇḍala | Kiḷga | 7th century | EC VI (old ed) Kp 38. |
| 211. | Kadamba rājya | -- | 11th century | EC V (old ed) Mj 45. |
| 212. | Kadamba rājya | -- | c.AD 1026 | EC V (old ed) Mj 54. |
| 213. | Jelugur-ālge. Also ref.to Nāyarakhaṇḍa. | (i)Alamvaḷḷi<br>(ii)Navaḷḷi<br>(iii)Niriḷḷi<br>(iv)Andugi<br>Not clear to which of the two units these settlements belonged. | 7th century | EC VII (old ed) Sk 154. |
| 214. | Jiḍugur-ālge-70, a sub-unit of Banavāsi-12,000 | (i)Banavase kote<br>(ii)Ponnavur<br>(iii)Kumbise. | AD 913. | EC VIII (old ed) Sb 88. |
| 215. | Jiḍḍurālge-70, a sub-unit of Banavāsi-12,000. | (i)Baḷḷigāme<br>(ii)Giṅgiṭiyūr | AD 964 | ASMAR 1929, No.78,p 150. |
| 216. | Bidurālge-70 a sub-unit of Banavāsi-12,000. | Punuvavaḷḷi | AD 968 | EC VIII (old ed) Sb 531. |
| 217. | Jiḍugālge-70 | (i)Mādeyūr<br>(ii)Punuvavaḷḷi<br>(iii)Bariyūr. | AD 981 | EC VIII (old ed) Sb 530. |
| 218. | Nāyarakhaṇḍa. | Vide No.213 above. | 7th century | EC VII (old ed) Sk 154. |
| 219. | Nāgarakhaṇḍa 70 a sub-unit of Banavāsi 12,000 | (i)Āvutavūr<br>(ii)Bandaḷike<br>(iii)Koḍangeyūr. | AD 919-20 | EC VII (old ed) Sk 219. |
| 220. | Nāgarakhaṇḍa-70 in Banavāsi-12,000 | -- | AD 942 | EC VIII (old ed) Sb 408 |
| 221. | Nāgarakhaṇḍa-70 in Banavāsi-12000 | (i)Bārangi.<br>(ii)Kannasoge | AD 957 | EC VIII (old ed) Sb 326. |

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| 222. | Nāgarakhaṇḍa-70 in Banavāsi-12,000. | Piriya Māguṇḍi | AD 987 | EC VIII (old ed) Sb 413. |
| 223. | Nāgarakhaṇḍa in Banavāsi-12,000. | (i)Bandanike (ii)Tōḍalli (iii)Nāgarakhaṇḍa | AD 1009 | EC VIII (old ed) Sb 234. |
| 224. | Nāgarakhaṇḍa-70. Also ref.to a unit of 100. | Karinele-unclear to which unit it belonged. | AD 1029 | EC VII (old ed) Sk 81. |
| 225. | (i)Kare nāḍ. (ii)Eḍenāḍ-70 | Ref.to Bīvanūr | 4th to 5th century | EC VII (old ed) Sk 52. |
| 226. | Eḍenāḍ-70 in Vanavāsi-12,000 | Vasavūr kōṭe. | 8th century | EC VIII (old ed) Sb 1. |
| 227. | Eḍenāḍ in Banavāsi-12,000 | Cittaraṭe ōṭūr. | c.AD 938 | EC VIII (old ed) Sb 70. |
| 228. | Eḍenāḍ-70 | Bāḍa near Eḍenāḍ-70 referred to | AD 939 | EC VIII (old ed) Sb 476 |
| 229. | Eḍenāḍ-70 | (i)Kalsoge bada (ii)Tagarati agrahara | AD 950-51 | EC VIII (old ed) Sb 570. |
| 230. | Eḍenāḍu in the 12,000 country. | (i)Kakkarasi (ii)Muttiguppe | AD 954 | EC VIII (old ed) Sb 474. |
| 231. | Eḍenāḍu-70 | (i)Kiruvunuse (ii)Elase | AD 959 | EC VIII (old ed) Sb 501. |
| 232. | Eḍenāḍ-70 | -- | AD 991 | EC VIII (old ed) Sb 477. |
| 233. | Eḍenāḍu-70 | -- | AD 1025 | EC VIII (old ed) Sa 7. |
| 234. | Eḍenāḍ. | Bāsavūr | AD 1029 | EC VIII (old ed) Sb 213. |
| 235. | Eḍenāḍu | Guḍuve | AD 1032 | EC VIII (old ed) Sb 60. |
| 236. | Śāntaḷige | (i)Kūvalli (ii)Isavūr | 9th century AD | EC VII (old ed) Sk 283. |
| 237. | Śāntaḷige. Also ref.to...dyaḷige nāḍ. | (i)Gellūr (ii)....keṛe. | AD 963 | EC VII (old ed) Sh 22. |
| 238. | The Thousand nāḍ in Banavāsi-12,000 | -- | c.980 AD | EC VII (old ed) Sk 184. |
| 239. | Śāntaḷige-1000 (one among 8 units ref.to) | -- | AD 991 | EC VIII (old ed) Sb 477. |

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| 240. | Śāntaḷige-1000 (one among 5 units ref.to) | -- | AD 997 | EC VII (old ed) Sk 179. |
| 241. | Śāntaḷige-1000 | Tānagundūr | AD 1007 | EC VII (old ed) Sk 195. |
| 242. | Śāntaḷige-1000 in Banavāsi-12,000 | Śālipura agrahāra | AD 1011 | EC VII (old ed) Sk 287. |
| 243. | Śāntaḷige-1000 in Banavāsi-12,000 Also ref.to Hayve-500 | Ref.to Balipura bīḍu. | AD 1019 | EC VII (old ed) Sk 125. |
| 244. | Śāntaḷige-1000 | -- | AD 1025 | EC VIII (old ed) Sa 7. |
| 245. | Śāntaḷige-1000 Also ref.to Koḍanāḍu-30 | (i)Tāgaracce (ii)Kuḍigere | AD 1027 | EC VII (old ed) Sk 53. |
| 246. | Śāntaḷige-1000 | -- | AD 1029 | EC VIII (old ed) Sb 213. |
| 247. | Banavāsi maṇḍala. Incidental ref.to Āḷuvakhēḍa-6000 | (i)Perggunji kōṭe (ii)Kuṇḍage (iii)Miṭṭise (iv)Simmanūr (v)Aṇḍugi (vi)Bedemeṭṭi (vii)Baḷḷigāme (viii)Gaṇḍuguḍi | 8th to 9th century | EC VIII (old ed) Sb 10 |
| 248. | (i)Nāḍ (name lost) (ii)Goḷḷiga nāḍ-to which the invaders belonged. | Ref.to (i)Vasavūr kōṭe (ii)Indubaḷḷi | 8th to 9th centuries | EC VIII (old ed) Sb 542 |
| 249. | (Banavā) si 12,000 | Manamane | 8th to 9th centuries | EC VIII (old ed) Sb 22. |
| 250. | Banavāsi-12,000 | Mādi-ūr | AD 870 | EC VII (old ed) Hl 13 |
| 251. | Banavāsi 12,000 | Kumbise | AD 877 | EC VIII (old ed) Sb 85 |
| 252. | Banavāsi-12,000 | Kumbise | 10th century | EC VIII (old ed) Sb 91. |
| 253. | Vanavāsi viṣaya | Tānagundūr | AD 904 | EC III (new ed) Nj 402 |
| 254. | Banavāsi-12,000 | -- | AD 934 | EC VII (old ed) Hl 21,23 |
| 255. | Banavāsi-12,000 and some nāḍ ref.to | Peraseyal | AD 939-40 | EC VIII (old ed) Sb 77. |
| 256. | Banavāsi nāḍ | -- | c AD 950 | EC VII (old ed) Sk 183 |

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| 257. | Banavāsi-12,000 | Kaccavikoḷa | AD 954 | EC VIII (old ed) Sb 240 |
| 258. | Bana(vā)si-nad | Bīvanūr | AD 954-55 | EC VIII (old ed) Sb 202 |
| 259. | Banavāsi nāḍ | (i)Ūr (name lost) (ii)Ref.to Bēḍas of Kūḍali | AD 964 | EC VIII (old ed) Sb 203. |
| 260. | Banavāsi-12,000 | (i)Banavāsipura (ii)Mangaluru (iii)24 agraharas (a)Jaraguru (b)...bavalli | AD 968 | EC VIII (old ed) Sb 465 |
| 261. | Banavasi-12,000 | Ūr (name lost) | AD 972-73 | EC VIII (old ed) Sb 455 |
| 262. | The 12,000 country | Kośigavaḷḷi | AD 972-73 | EC VIII (old ed) Sb 44 |
| 263. | Banavāsi-12,000 | Binakalli | AD 972-73 | EC VIII (old ed) Sb 454,457 |
| 264. | Banavāsi arasu | Banavāsi. Also ref.to Vātāpi | AD 980 | EC VIII (old ed) Sb 529. |
| 265. | Banavāsi 12,000 | Uttarāṇi | AD 1012 | EC VII (old ed) Sk 71 |
| 266. | Banavāsi 12,000 | Nellūr Maḷeyara | AD 1013 | EC VIII (old ed) Sb 471 |
| 267. | Banavāsi 12,000 | Miḷiyapaḷḷaga | AD 1013 | EC VIII (old ed) Sb 346 |
| 268. | Banavāsi-12,000 | Ūr (name lost) | AD 1015 | EC VIII (old ed) Sb 16 |
| 269. | Banavāsi nāḍ | Canda | AD 1016 | EC VII (old ed) Sk 307 |
| 270. | Banavāsi 12,000 | Banavāsi | AD 1018 | EC VIII (old ed) Sb 48 |
| 271. | Banavāsi-12,000 Also ref.to Padineṇṭagrahāra | -- | AD 1021 | EC VII (old ed) Sk 9. |

## APPENDIX II

## URBAN SETTLEMENTS IN SOUTHERN KARNATAKA

| S.No. | SETTLEMENT | FIFTH CENTURY | SIXTH CENTURY | SEVENTH CENTURY | EIGHTH CENTURY | NINTH CENTURY | TENTH CENTURY | ELEVENTH CENTURY |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Vaijayanti / Banavāsi | Capital of Kadambas who are described as lords of Vaijayanti (EC VII, old ed. Sk 264); described as being adorned with 18 maṇḍapikas - a trade centre (EC VI, old ed. Kd 162) | - | An urban centre denoted by suffix of nagara. Also ref. to the corporate body, nagara of Banavāsi and to a merchant (EC VIII, old ed. Sb 571 of AD 692) | - | - | An administrative centre (Kaṭaka) (EC VIII old ed. Sb 476 of AD 939) | A fortified administrative centre. (EC VIII old ed. Sb 61 of AD 1032 |
| 2 | Kuvaḷāla / Kolālapura | Rural - grant of land under tank of Kuvalala. Terms such as pura, nagara not used. (K.V.Ramesh, | - | Urban as denoted by the suffix pura. Centre of a viṣaya. (K.V.Ramesh, op.cit. No.29 of AD 634 | - | Urban as denoted by the suffix pura. Ganga King described as Kuvaḷālapura-varēśvara. (EC X, old ed.Kl | Nanniya Gaṅga described as Kōḷālapura-paramēśvara (EC X old ed. Gd 4) | A religious and administrative centre. The Kōlāramma temple located here received grants of |

| S.No. | SETTLEMENT | FIFTH CENTURY | SIXTH CENTURY | SEVENTH CENTURY | EIGHTH CENTURY | NINTH CENTURY | TENTH CENTURY | ELEVENTH CENTURY |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Inscr.of W.Gaṅgas, No.157 | | | | 79) | | villages.(EC X old ed.Kl 112 a & f of AD 1022) |
| 3 | Pērūr | Possibly urban, śulka levied outside Pērūr in kārṣāpaṇas. (K.V.Ramesh, op.cit.No.12) Lands in its vicinity owned by merchants and clothiers (K.V.Ramesh, op.cit. No.11) | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 4 | Sangamapura | Urban as denoted by the suffix pura. A newly established town. (EC VIII new ed. Hn 10) | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 5 | Kirumundaniri nagara | Urban as denoted by suffix of nagara. A | - | - | - | - | - | - |

| S.No. | SETTLEMENT | FIFTH CENTURY | SIXTH CENTURY | SEVENTH CENTURY | EIGHTH CENTURY | NINTH CENTURY | TENTH CENTURY | ELEVENTH CENTURY |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | tenth part of its income granted to brâhmaṇas. (EC VIII new ed. Hn 10) | | | | | | |
| 6 | Kumārapura. | Urban as denoted by suffix of pura. Land here granted for a Jaina temple.(EC X old ed. Mr 73) | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 7 | Mahāsēnapura | - | Urban as denoted by suffix of pura. No other details are available (EC IX old ed. Bn 141) | - | Urban as denoted by suffix of pura. A brâhmaṇa donee stated to be resident of this place.(EC VII, new ed.Md 35 of AD 713) | - | - | - |
| 8 | Taṟekāḍ / Taḷavaṇapura / Rājarājapuram | - | - | - | AD 713 - Urban, the site of a royal camp.(EC VII new ed. Md | Urban as denoted by suffix of nagara, also the site of a | A trading centre (paṭṭaṇa). Ref. to 2 corporate groups, the | Renamed Rājarājapuram after Cōḷa conquest. Ref. to a merchant |

| S.No | SETTLEMENT | FIFTH CENTURY | SIXTH CENTURY | SEVENTH CENTURY | EIGHTH CENTURY | NINTH CENTURY | TENTH CENTURY | ELEVENTH CENTURY |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | 35). AD 725 - a royal centre. Ref. to several arasas and to the corporate body, the Twentyfive of Taṟekāḍ, which received a hamlet as bittuvaṭṭa. (EC V new ed. TN 207) | Jinālaya, which received grant of a village (EC III new ed. Nj 278of AD 808 and EC I new ed.No.1) | Twentyfive and the Mahā-nagara and an official, the Paṭṭaṇa-vasantara. (EC V new ed. TN 200 of AD 935) | of this place. (EC V new ed. TN 169) |
| 9 | Āsandi | - | - | - | Centre of a nāḍu and a marketing centre (nagara). Ref. to 2 corporate groups, the Fiftytwo and the Nakara. (EC VI old ed. Kd 145) | Capital of a feudatory of Rācamalla II (EC VI old ed. Cm 129) | Religious centre. Ref.to Mūlasthāna basadi located here. (EC VI old ed. Kd 159 of AD 961) | - |
| 10 | Śrīpura / Śrīvūr. | - | - | - | Urban - a religious centre, site of Lōkatilaka | - | - | - |

| S.No | SETTLEMENT | FIFTH CENTURY | SIXTH CENTURY | SEVENTH CENTURY | EIGHTH CENTURY | NINTH CENTURY | TENTH CENTURY | ELEVENTH CENTURY |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | basadi. If identical with Śrīvūr the urban centre had just emerged - Ref. to tanks and fields in the plains of Śrīvūr.(EC VII new ed. Ng 149 of AD 776) | | | |
| 11 | Maṇṇe / Mānyanagara | - | - | - | AD 750 Ref. to as grāma, the site of a royal camp.(EC VI old ed.Mg 36) AD 762 urban as denoted by suffix of nagara; the favourite residence of Śrīpuruṣa Gaṅga.(K.V. Ramesh, op.cit.No.45) | - | Headquarters of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa general overseeing the South. (EC XVI rev.ed. Tm 78 of AD 903) | - |

| S.No. | SETTLEMENT | FIFTH CENTURY | SIXTH CENTURY | SEVENTH CENTURY | EIGHTH CENTURY | NINTH CENTURY | TENTH CENTURY | ELEVENTH CENTURY |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| | | | | | AD 798 a religious centre (EC IX old ed. Nl 60) AD 799 administrative centre of a nāḍu.(K.V. Ramesh, op.cit.No.50) | | | |
| 12 | Kiṛupēḷnagara | - | - | - | - | Urban as denoted by suffix of nagara. Perhaps a market centre; in other respects agrarian. (EC V new ed. TN 146) | - | Urban - Ref. to houses of gāvuṇḍas / pergaḍes and a flower garden. (EC V new ed. TN 142) |
| 13 | Avani / Avanyasthana | - | - | - | Unclear, probably a religious centre. Setting up of a Garuḍa stambha for a temple | A religious centre, a temple constructed for Mahēndra Nōḷamba here, which received a grant of | Another small temple constructed in c. AD 920 (EC X old ed. Mb 67). Centre of the division of | - |

| S.No. | SETTLEMENT | FIFTH CENTURY | SIXTH CENTURY | SEVENTH CENTURY | EIGHTH CENTURY | NINTH CENTURY | TENTH CENTURY | ELEVENTH CENTURY |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | recorded.(EC X old ed. Mb 59. | Elanagara.(EC X old ed. Mb 38, 50) | Āvanya ruled by the pontiff. (EC X old ed. Mb 93 of c. AD 950) The temples here received tax exemption from the Nōḷamba King.(EC X old ed. Mb 51) | |
| 14 | Bāragūr | - | - | - | - | Incipient urbanism - site of a royal palace converted into a temple in AD 878 (EC XII old ed. Si 38) Capital of the estate of a queen of Mahēndra Nōḷamba. Some land here granted for a basadi | Religious centre. Ref. to 2 temples and a monastery; a tank in the south-western quarter also mentioned. (EC XII old ed. Si 39 of AD 919) | - |

| S.No. | SETTLEMENT | FIFTH CENTURY | SIXTH CENTURY | SEVENTH CENTURY | EIGHTH CENTURY | NINTH CENTURY | TENTH CENTURY | ELEVENTH CENTURY |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | (EC XII old ed. Si 24 of c. AD 880) | | |
| 15 | Śōṇitapura | - | - | - | - | - | Capital of Kaccāga Nirggunda dēva (EC IV new ed. Ch 114) | - |
| 16 | Rājapoḷala | - | - | - | - | - | Urban as denoted by suffix of poḷal. Residence of Mārasimha II(EC VII new ed. Ng 99) | - |
| 17 | Manalūr and its suburb Nigariliśōḷa-puram. | - | - | - | - | - | - | AD 1007 - Manalūr was a rural settlement out of which an urban enclave Nigariliśōḷa-puram developed. Site of a Viṣṇu temple and a market centre |

| S.No. | SETTLEMENT | FIFTH CENTURY | SIXTH CENTURY | SEVENTH CENTURY | EIGHTH CENTURY | NINTH CENTURY | TENTH CENTURY | ELEVENTH CENTURY |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | | | (EC IX old ed. Cp 128 &132) AD 1014 - the Nagarattār of the town made a grant to the Viṣṇu temple (EC IX old ed. Cp 131) |
| 18 | Māyalangai / Jananātha-puram | - | - | - | - | - | - | C. AD 1000 - rural. Sale of lands for a Viṣṇu temple situated there by the gāvuṇḍas. (EC V new ed. TN 213) AD 1015 - urban. Ref. to the Nagarattār who made a cash gift to the temple.(EC V new ed. TN 233) AD 1022 - a similar cash gift entrusted |

| S.No. | SETTLEMENT | FIFTH CENTURY | SIXTH CENTURY | SEVENTH CENTURY | EIGHTH CENTURY | NINTH CENTURY | TENTH CENTURY | ELEVENTH CENTURY |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | | | to the Nagarattār. (EC V new ed. TN 229) |
| 19 | Suttur | - | - | - | - | - | - | AD 1032 - incipient urbanism. An agrahāra with a monastery and 2 temples. The sabhā, Nānādēśis and merchants involved in grants to temples - money invested in land. (EC III new ed. Nj 215) |

Appendix III

## Inscriptional references to Brāhmaṇas

| S. No. | Source | Name | Gotra | Śākhā/ Caraṇa | Emigrated from | Immigrated to | Other remarks | Date |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | EC VII (Old ed) SK 264 | Siri Nāgadatta | Koṇṇinya (Kauṇḍinya?) Kośikiputra | - | - | - | - | 4th century AD |
| 2 | K.V. Ramesh, op. cit., No.1 | Dhāra Śarman | Vatsa | Taittirīya caraṇa | - | Vēḷpottūra in Paṟuvi viṣaya | Recipient of Brahmadēya grant | End of 4th century |
| 3 | -do- | Sōma Śarman | - | - | - | - | Writer of grant, Employed by Mādhavavarman I Gaṅga | -do- |
| 4 | K.V. Ramesh, op.cit., No.2 | Nāgaśarman | Bhāradvāja | Taittirīya caraṇa | - | Kaṇḍasāla grāma in Kuḷungijya rājya | Recipient of brahmadēya grant | -do- |
| 5 | -do- | Sōmaśarman | - | - | - | - | Sarvarahasyādhikṛta of Mādhavarvarman | -do- |
| 6 | K.V.Ramesh, op.cit., No.5 | Mātṛśarman son of Vaḷivēra caturvēdin | Rathītara gōtra | Taittirīya caraṇa | - | Karu-ūra in Peraṭi bhōga,in Paṟuvi viṣaya | Recipient of brahmadeya grant | Early 5th century AD |
| 7 | K.V.Ramesh, op.cit., No. 6 | i) Skanda Śarma ii)Āryya Śarma iii)Kumāra Śarma iv) Drōṇa Śarma v) Vīra Śarma vi) Hara Śarma, sons of Bhūti Śarman | Vārākya gōtra | Chāndōga caraṇa Śātyāyanas (?) | - | Kuṇḍiliyam in Pērūra viṣaya | Recipients of brahmadēya grants | -do- |
| 8 | -do- | Ēra Śarman | - | - | - | - | Sarvamantrādhikṛta of Kṛṣṇavarman Gaṅga of Kaivāra branch | -do- |

| S. No. | Source | Name | Gotra | Śākhā/ Caraṇa | Emigrated from | Immigrated to | Other remarks | Date |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 9 | K.V.Ramesh, op.cit., No. 7. | 74 Brāhmaṇas including | | | | Cukuṭṭūr in Kaivāra Viṣaya | | 5th century AD |
| | | i) Kumāra Śarman | Kauśika | - | - | | | |
| | | ii) Īśvara Śarman | Kṛṇātrēya | - | - | -do- | Recipients of a Brahmadēya grant,described as adept in self-control, austerities, penance, vedic study performing & conducting sacrifices. | |
| | | iii) Agni Śarman | -do- | - | - | -do- | | |
| | | iv) Īśvara Śarman | Kāśyapa | - | - | -do- | | |
| | | v) Svāmi Śarman | Bhāradvāja | - | - | -do- | | |
| | | vi) Datta Śarman | Kāśyapa | - | - | -do- | | |
| | | vii) Kāḷi Śarman | Kauśika | - | - | -do- | | |
| | | viii) Bhava Śarman | Kutsa | - | - | -do- | | |
| | | ix) Viṣṇu Śarman | -do- | - | - | -do- | | |
| | | x) Ārya Śarman | Kauśika | - | - | -do- | | |
| | | xi) Mahēśwara Śarman | Kauṇḍinya | - | - | -do- | | |
| | | xii) Vara Śarman | Kāśyapa | - | - | -do- | | |
| | | xiii) Sōma Śarman | -do- | - | - | -do- | | |
| | | xiv) Nandi Śarman | Bhāradvāja | - | - | -do- | | |
| | | xv) Vella Śarman | Hārita | - | - | -do- | | |
| | | xvi) Durgga Śarman | Vatsa | - | - | -do- | | |
| | | xvii) Sēna Śarman | Kauṇḍinya | - | - | -do- | | |
| | | xviii) Ārya Śarman | -do- | - | - | -do- | | 5th century AD |
| 10 | EC VIII (Old ed) sb-33 | Sōma Śarmārya | Gautama | - | - | Kadaḷa Kaḷami grāma | - | 5th century AD |
| 11 | K.V.Ramesh, op.cit., No.156 | Mātṛśarman | Kāśyapa | Vājasane yi | - | Kuvaḷāla | Recipient of brahmadeya grant | 5th Century AD |
| 12 | K.V.Ramesh, op.cit., No. 8 | Kumāra Śarman | Vatsa | Taittirīy a caraṇa | - | Paṛuvi in Paṛuvi viṣaya | Described as adept in self control, austerity penance, vedic study and performing and conducting sacrifices. Recipient of brahmadēya grant | |

| S. No. | Source | Name | Gotra | Sakha/ Carana | Emigrated from | Immigrated to | Other remarks | Date |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 13 | EC VII (old ed) Sk 29. | Dēva Śarma | Kauṇḍinya | Taittirīya Caraṇa Dattānuyōga | - | Ankomāla Village | - | 5th Century AD |
| 14 | K.V.Ramesh op. cit., No. 9 | i) Kumāra Śarman<br>ii) Bhava Śarman | Kauśika | Taittirīya Caraṇa | - | Kūtalūr in Marukaṛa Viṣaya | Recipients of brahmadeya grant | 5th Century AD |
| 15 | K.V.Ramesh, op.cit., No. 157 | Divàkara Svāmin | Vatsa | Vajasaneyi śākhā | - | Kuvaḷāla | Recipient of brahmadeya grant | 5th century AD |
| 16 | K.V.Ramesh, op.cit., No.13 | Kēśava Śarman | Kāśyapa | Taittiriya carana Pravacana Kalpa | - | Paṇapura in Marukaṛa Viṣaya | -do- | End of the 5th century AD |
| 17 | -do- | Gōvinda Śarman | -do- | -do- | - | Kolpalli in Marukaṛe viṣaya | -do- | -do- |
| 18 | -do- | Dāmōdara Bhaṭṭa | - | - | - | - | Rahasyādhikṛta of Kadamba Vijayaśiva Māndhātṛvarma | 5th Century AD |
| 19 | K.V.Ramesh | 74 Brāhmaṇas (unnamed) | - | - | Suguttūr (same as Cutkuṭṭūr inKaivāra viṣaya?) | Koḍunjeṛuvu in Pudōli viṣaya | Described as being noted for self-control, Penance, knowledge of the vēda and performance' of sacrifices | -do- |
| 20 | K.V.Ramesh, op. cit., No.16 | i) Kaḍa<br>ii) Svāmi | Maudgalya | Taittirīya śākhā Hiraṇyak-ēśi sūtra | Tippūr in Marugaṛe rāṣtra | Mēlūr | Recipients of brahmadēya grant | End of the 6th century |

| S. No. | Source | Name | Gotra | Śākhā/ Carana | Emigrated from | Immigrated to | Other remarks | Date |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 21. | K.V.Ramesh, op.cit.,No.18 | Vāsaśarma | - | - | Mahāsēna-pura | - | Described as maintainer of the sarcredfire (āhitāgnaye) | 6th century AD |
| 22 | K.V.Ramesh, op.cit., No.19 | Kāpāli śarman son of Agni śarman | Kutsagōtra | Taittirīya caraṇa Prāvacana kalpa | Upakoṭṭa, | Peṇṇa-ūr in Korikunṟa viṣaya | Described as one whose religious rites were special due to their performance with soma. (sōmanēṣta-viśiṣtakarmaṇah) | 6th century AD |
| 23 | K.V.Ramesh, op.cit., NO. 20 | Skanda Śarma | Bhāradvāja gōtra | Taittirīya caraṇa Āpastam-bha Sūtra | - | Tipperūr in Perukā bhōga in Vaṇṇe viṣaya | Described as one "who knew the meaning of mantraṣ and sūtras the essence of sacred precepts versed in 6 auxiliary branches of vedic study" | 6th century AD |
| 24 | K.V.Ramesh, op.cit., No.21 | 48 Brāhmaṇas (unnamed) | Bhāradvāja Vatsa Kauśika | Taithirīya caraṇa Āpastam-bha and Prāvacana sūtras | - | Koliṛtūr village in Pudalnāḍa rāṣtra | Described as "scholars incessant drinkers of sōma and ever-engaged in the six fold duties" | 6th century AD |
| 25 | EC VII (old ed) Sk 66 | Nārāyaṇa Śarma | Gautama | - | - | | - | 6th century AD |
| 26 | K.V.Ramesh, op.cit., No.21 | Sēna Śarma | Kautsa | Vajasajeya Sakha | - | Śatōmahila grāma Paraḷkuṇḍe grāma in Kovaḷāla viṣaya | Recipient of land in more than one village | 6th century AD |
| 27 | K.V.Ramesh, No. 23 | Bhūta Śarma | Kṛṇātrēya gotra | Taithirīya caraṇa | - | Sāliggāme | Recipient of brahmadēya grant | 6th century AD |

| S. No. | Source | Name | Gotra | Śākhā/ Caraṇa | Emigrated from | Immigrated to | Other remarks | Date |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 28 | K.V.Ramesh, op.cit, No. 24 | Bhavarudra Śarma<br>Drōṇa Śarma<br>Skanda Śarma<br>Bhava Śarma<br>Agni Śarma | Bhāradvāja | Prāvacana Kalpa | Korgaṭṭūr | Koḍunjeṟuvu | Described as "well-versed in performing sacrifices, the six branches of vedic study and incessant drinkers of sōma juice ever-engaged in performing the six fold duties. | 6th century AD |
| 29 | K.V.Ramesh, op.cit. No.25 | Sēna Śarman and his son (unnamed) | Bhāradvāja | Taittirīya caraṇa Prāvacana kalpa | - | Nallālam in Koṟikunda viṣaya | Described as performers of the six-fold duties eg. performing sacrifices" | 6th century AD |
| 30 | K.V.Ramesh, op.cit, No. 158 | Kumba śarman | Kāśyapa | Taittirīya caraṇa, Prāvacana Kalpa | - | Kiṟumoṟekoḷi village on southern bank of Kabbāni river | Recipient of bra hmadeya grant | 6th century AD |
| 31 | K.V.Ramesh, op.cit., NO. 27 | Nāgaśarman | Kauśika | Taittiriya caraṇa | - | Palaccoge village in Vallavi dēśa, Sendraka viṣaya | "Ever-engaged in performance of the six-fold duties" | Mid 7th century AD |
| 32 | EC VIII (old ed) sk 571 | Divākara Śarma S/o Śankara Śarma | Devarata Kausika | - | - | Sālivoge near Banavāsi | - | AD 692 |
| 33 | K.V. Ramesh, No. 31 | Mādhava Śarman S/o Māraśarman<br>Kēśava śarman<br>Mādhava śarman<br>Ārya śarman<br>Mādhava Śarman | Ātrēya<br><br>Hārita<br>Bhāradvāja<br>Gautama<br>Hārita | Vājasanēya Caraṇa<br>-<br>-<br>-<br>- | Mahāsēna-pura<br>-<br>-<br>-<br>- | Keregōḍu viṣaya<br>-do-<br>-do-<br>-do-<br>-do- | a ukthya yājin<br>-<br>-<br>-<br>- | AD 713-14.<br><br><br>- |

| S. No. | Source | Name | Gotra | Śākhā/ Caraṇa | Emigrated from | Immigrated to | Other remarks | Date |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 33. | | Bappa Śarman | Gārgya | - | - | Keregōḍu viṣaya | a ukthya yājin- | |
| | | Gobbe Śarman | Lōhita | - | - | -do- | - | |
| | | Nāga Śarman | Bhāradvāja | - | - | -do- | A Ghaṭika sāhasa | |
| | | Śarva Śarma | Vatsa | - | - | -do- | - | |
| | | Rudra Śarman | -do- | - | - | -do- | - | |
| | | Trivikrama Śarman | Lakṣaṇya | - | - | -do- | - | |
| | | Mādhava Śarman | Kāśyapa | - | - | -do- | A Sōmayāji | |
| | | Vinaya Śarman | Gārgya | - | - | -do- | - | |
| | | Īśvara Sōmayājin | Kauṇḍinya | - | - | -do- | - | |
| | | Piṭṭamma Sōmayājin | Ātrēya | - | - | -do- | A Sōmayājin | |
| | | Piṭṭi Śarman | Bhāradvāja | - | - | -do- | - | |
| | | Nārāyaṇa Śarman | Kāśyapa | - | - | -do- | A Sōmayājin | |
| | K.V. Ramesh, | Drōṇa Bhaṭṭa | Kauśika | - | - | -do- | Sōmayāji | |
| | op.cit., No. 31 | Rudra Śarma | Āsmarāthya | - | - | -do- | - | |
| | EC VII (new | Ēra Śarma | Kāśyapa | - | - | -do- | - | |
| | ed) Md 14 | Upādhyāya | | - | - | -do- | - | |
| | | Rudra Śarma | Bhāradvāja | - | - | -do- | Asōmayāji | |
| | | Dugga Śarma | -do- | - | - | -do- | - | |
| | | Vinaya Śarma | Śaṇḍilya | - | - | -do- | an āhitāgni | |
| | | Yajña Śarma | -do- | - | - | -do- | - | |
| | | Nanda Śarma | -do- | - | - | -do- | - | |
| | | Gaṇa Śarma | Kauḍinya | - | - | -do- | - | |
| | | Mādhava Śarman | -do- | - | - | -do- | - | |
| | | Śiva Śarman | Ātrēya | - | - | -do- | -An āhitāgni | |
| | | Koṭṭi Śarma | -do- | - | - | -do- | - | |
| | | Pāla Śarma | -do- | - | - | -do- | - | |
| | | Āla Śarman | -do- | - | - | -do- | - | |
| | | Daita Śarma | -do- | - | - | -do- | - | |
| | | Māra Śarma | -do- | - | - | -do- | - | |
| | | Yajña Śarma | -do- | - | - | -do- | - | |
| | | Durga Śarman | -do- | - | - | -do- | all these individuals held changes in Pallavataṭāka village in Keregōḍu viṣaya | |

| S. No. | Source | Name | Gotra | Śākhā/ Caraṇa | Emigrated from | Immigrated to | Other remarks | Date |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 33. | K.V. Ramesh, op.cit., No. 31 | Kapōta Śarma | Kauḍinya | - | - | -do | - | AD 713-14 |
| | | Koraṭṭa Sarma | Kāṇvāyana | - | - | -do- | - | |
| | | Nārāyaṇa Śarman | Kauśika | - | - | -do- | - | |
| | | Mādhava Śarman | Kāśyapa | - | - | -do- | - | |
| | | Śaṅkha Śarman | Kauṇḍinya | - | - | -do- | A Sōmayāji | |
| | | Rājaśrī Śarman | Vatsa | - | - | -do- | - | |
| | | Nāga Śarman | Ātrēya | - | - | -do- | - | |
| | | Magusa Śarman | Hārita | - | - | -do- | - | |
| | | Kuppa Śarman | Viśvāmitra | - | - | -do- | - | |
| | | Guḷagāḍiḍa Sōmayāji | Viṣṇuvṛddha | - | - | -do- | - | |
| | | Māra Śarman | Bhāradvāja | - | - | -do- | - | |
| | | Gōvinda Śarman | Vatsa | - | - | -do- | A Sōmayāji (?) | |
| | | Mādhava Śarman | Kauśika | - | - | -do- | - | |
| | | Śivamāra Śarman S/o | Kāśyapa | - | - | -do- | - | |
| | | Mādhava Ukthya | Vatsa | Vājasan | - | -do- | - | |
| | | Yājin and his 5 | Ātrēya | ēya | | | | |
| | | brothers (unnamed) | | caraṇa | | | | |

| S. No. | Source | Name | Gotra | Śākhā/ Caraṇa | Emigrated from | Immigrated to | Other remarks | Date |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 34. | K.V.Ramesh, op.cit, No. 3 | Gathicarma | Koṇṇinda (Kauṇḍinya) | - | Kangamaṅgaḷa | Pērpūsūru in Morasanāḍu | A spurious record attributed to Mādhavavarman I Gaṅga | 8th Century AD |
| 35. | K.V. Ramesh op. cit, No. 39 | Bāṇaśarma | Vatsa | Taittirīya | Vātāpi | Bāradūr in Tegattūr viṣaya | - | AD 725 |
| 36. | K.V. Ramesh, op. cit. No. 41 | Vara Śarma Śiva Śarman (Brothers) | Hāritāyana | Chāndōga Kalpa | Turugalūr | Not clear | - | AD 725-28 |
| 37. | K.V. Ramesh, op. cit, No. 42 | Nandīśvara Śarman S/o Mādhava Sarman | Kāśyapa | Taittirīya caraṇa Prāvacana Kalpa | Kesammaḍi | Agali in Marugara visaya -do- | Nandīśvara Śarman adopted Mādhava and Māra Śarman the sons of his younger brother Nāga Śarma. Recipients of brahmadēya grant | AD 748 |
| | | Nāga Śarman | -do- | -do- | | -do- | | |
| | | Mādhava Sarman | -d0- | -do- | | | | |
| | | Māra Sarman | | | | -do- | | |
| | | 120 brāhmaṇs | -do- | -do- | | Belpūr in | | |
| 38. | K.V. Ramesh op. cit. No. 43 | including Śiva Śarman | Āṅgirasa | - | - | Maṇale āḷke - 300 in Sinda viṣaya | These brāhmaṇas descried as "well-versed in 4 braches of learning, the vēdas and vēdāṅgas, and Dharmaśāstras" | AD 750-51 |
| | | Ajja Sarman | -do- | - | - | | | |
| | | Mādhava Śarman | -do- | - | - | -do- | | |
| | | Śrīdhara Śarman | -do- | - | - | | | |
| | | Mādhava | | | | -do- | | |
| | | Sōma Śarman | Vasiṣṭha | - | - | -do- | | |
| | | Kumāra Śarman | -do- | - | - | -do- | | |
| | | Mādhava Śarman | -do- | - | - | -do- | | |
| | | S/o Māra Sarman | -do- | - | - | Paruvi viṣaya | | |
| 39. | K.V. Ramesh, op. cit, No. 45 | Vella Śarma | Kāśyapa | Vājasanēya Śākhā | Tōḷūr | Agaḷi (?) | Land granted in 4 villages | AD 762-63 |
| 40 | EC X (old ed) MG 80 | | - | - | Maduregiḷ | | - | AD 761-68 |

| S. No. | Source | Name | Gotra | Śākhā/ Caraṇa | Emigrated from | Immigrated to | Other remarks | Date |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 41. | K.V. Ramesh, op. cit, No. 47 | Nīlakaṇṭha Śarma | Hārita | Pravacana carana | - | Kōmāra-maṅgaḷa in Pudukanda viṣaya (Korudesa) | - | AD 771 |
| 42. | K.V. Ramesh, op. cit, No. 50 | Śrīdhara S/o Ponnēṛa | Bhāradvāja | Taittirīya caraṇa, Prāvacana Kalpa | - | Kottimba.. in Manya visaya | Donee's grandfather praised for his knowledge, his father's vedic knowledge stressed, his own strength and leadership stressed taking on of brahma ksatriya attributes | AD 799 |
| 43. | K.V.Ramesh, op.cit, No.65 | Janārdana<br>Kēśava Bhaṭṭa<br>Nāga Sarma | Gārgya<br>Kauśika<br>Kāśyapa | - | - | Kovaḷaveṭṭu village<br>-do-<br>-do- | Shareholders in the village | 8th century AD |
| 44. | EC X (old ed) | Duṇḍugēr, Nāllattūr oḍeya | - | - | - | - | Brāhmaṇa identity only discernible because grant is described as brahmadēya | Early 9th century AD |
| 45. | EC V (new ed) Kn 49 | Nāgadēva Bhaṭṭa S/o Taḍanguṭṭi Sōmayāji | Bhāradvāja | Ṛgveda pāraga | - | Perjjaraṅgi | Donee's father described as "ever testing sōma juice and skilled in performance of sacrifices" | AD 819-20 |

| S. No. | Source | Name | Gotra | Sakia/ Carana | Emigrated from | Immigrated to | Other remarks | Date |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 46. | K.V. Ramesh, op. cit., No. 4 | Dāmōdara Bhaṭṭa | Bhāradvāja | Calukivaḍi-ca, Ṛk Śākhā | - | Bāgeyūr in Baḍagare nāḍu - 30 | Spurious, acribed to Harivarma Gaṅga | 9th Century characte .s |
| 47. | Ec III (new ed) Nj 402 | Sivarya | Visvamitra Agamarsana pravara | Taittiriya Sakha | Ahichatra to Tanagun in Vanavasi visaya | Gaṅgavāḍi | Employed as advisor to the Ganga king Nītimārga Eṟeyanga II | AD 904 |
| 48. | EC IV (new ed) Ch 354 | Śivārya | - | - | - | - | Maintained a 1000 elephants in Koṅga nāḍu viṣya for Eṟeyanga II | AD 906 |
| 49. | K.V.Ramesh, op. cit, No. 138 | Vādighaṅghala Bhṭṭa alias Muñjārya son of Ayyapa Bhaṭṭa grandson of Śrīdhara Bhaṭṭa | Parāśara | Caḷukivaḍi - ca caraṇa | Originally from Pippaḷa agrahāra in Vārāṭa dēśa in North Kāñci desa | Bāgiyūr village in Baḍagara nāḍu - 300 in Punnāṭu 6000 | A Jaina, advisor to Krsna III, Rastrakuta and preceptor to Marasimha II | AD 962-63 |
| 50. | K.V. Ramesh, op. cit. No. 159 | Kāḷapāryya Bhaṭṭa S/o Rudra an agnihotri | Kāśyapa | - | | Aḍḍavurage in Dhavaḷa viṣaya | Donee's grandfather described as learned in vēdas and all sciences, his father as an Agnihōtri, Donee's charity praised | AD 968-69 |

## APPENDIX IV

## DĒVADĀSIS AND SŪḶES

The Dēvadāsis were modelled after the courtesans of the royal palace. The association of the courtesans of the royal palace is brought out in contemporary literary works. Thus in the story of Bhadrabāhu bhaṭāra,in the Vaḍḍārādhane, Dhariṇi Mahādēvī is accompanied by other queens (Arasiyarkaḷ) of lower rank and the courtesans of the women's quarter (peṇḍavāsada sūḷeyarkaḷ).*1 Likewise in the Pampa Bhārata, Draupadī on her way to the swayamvaraśālā was accompanied and attended by courtesans (Vāravilāsinīyar).*2 It was also evidently a custom to present courtesans when a princess was given away in marriage. In the Vaḍḍārādhane, the King Dhātrivāhana presents his daughter Abhayamatī with excellent courtesans (Peṇḍavāsada aggaḷa sūlearkaḷ) on her marriage with Gurudatta.*3 In Ponna's Śānti Purāṇam, Indra and Upēndra, the princes of Ratnapura fight over Vasanasēnā who had been bestowed as baḷivaḷi (bridal present) on Indra's consort, Śrīmatī.*4

Other courtesans were attached to the royal court. This is brought out by Ranna's Gadāyuddham which mentions the Ōlagada Sūḷeyar (courtesans of the royal court) and their song and dance.*5 Pampa in his description of Duryōdhana's court mentions the presence of women (veṇḍir) of the harem (Peṇḍavāsa)*6 and their entrancing music.

In inscriptions too we have refefences to courtesans who were evidently members of the harem of particular kings or chiefs. Thus, the Pērūr plates of Simhavarman of the Kaivāra branch of Gaṅgas mention his favourite concubine (rājapriyāya), Nandavvā at whose instance he granted land for a Jaina shrine.*7 Similarly, the Heggōṭhara inscription (Chāmarājanagar taluk, Mysore district) of the ninth century

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*1 Vaḍḍārādhane, op.cit.,p 124

*2 Pampa Bhārata III.48 Vacana.

*3 Vaḍḍārādhane, op.cit.,p 193

*4 Śānti Purāṇam VI.74-75.

*5 Gadāyuddham V.43

*6 Pampa Bhārata IX.28-29.

*7 K.V.Ramesh, op.cit.,No.155

mentions Jogabbe, a courtesan (sūle) of Permādi who is possibly to be identified with the Ganga Monarch.*8 Likewise the Bēvinakuppe vīrgal of th e late ninth century (Pāndavapura taluk, Mandya district) refers to Birakkā, the sūle of Pṛthivi Ganga.*9

Literary sources indicate that while the Pendavāsada sūle was meant for the physical enjoyment of the king and members of the royal family, the Ōlagada sūle was meant for providing entertainment to royal courtiers. This corresponds roughly to the distinction between the Angabhōga and the Rangabhōga of the temple deity. Angabhōga has been explained by D.C.Sircar as the decoration of the image of the deity while Rangabhōga in his opinion signifies entertainment to be arranged for the deity *10. Chennakka Yeligar opines that the Angabhōga was related to the bath, worship and offering of the naivēdya and tāmbūla to the deity. In her opinion the Angabhōgada Sūle enjoyed a higher status than the Rangabhōgada Sūle since they alone had the right to enter the Garbhagṛha while the Rangabhōgada Sūle were stationed in the Navaranga Mantapa *11. Parasher & Naik interpret Angabhōga as part of the duties to be performed by the Sūle (courtesans) while Rangabhōga was the responsibility of the patra, a term meaning dramatis personae which came into vogue in Karnātaka in the post 1000 A.D. period. They adduce epigraphic evidence from northern Karnātaka to support their view that these women were meant for the deity's enjoyment (dēvarabhōgakke bhōgada sūleyar) and were attached to senior members of the temple staff.*12 In this connection they point out that the Matsya Purāna in its discussion of the services performed by the temple girls gives prominent place to the

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*8 EC IV (new ed) Ch 385. *9 EC VI (new ed) Ppu 253.

*10 D.C.Sircar, IEG, q.v. Angabhoga and Rangabhoga.

*11 C.Yeligar, Śāsanagalalli Karnātakada Strīsamāja, op.cit.,pp 90 ff.

*12 A.Parasher and U.Naik, "Temple girls of Medieval Karnataka", in IESHR, vol 23, No.1(1986), pp. 68,76

service of kings, brāhmaṇas and other clients. The children born of such unions would absolve parents of their sins.*13 This would indicate that while the temple girls were formally meant for the enjoyment of the deity, they could be exploited by the temple staff and patrons much as the pendavāsada sūle was the object of enjoyment for the king and the members of the royal family. The parallels between the palace and the temple would in fact support Parasher and Naik's view of the aṅgabhōga. But Yeligar's reconstruction of the aṅgabhōga as involving the bathing and offering naivēdya and tāmbūla is also plausible.

The Hecche inscription of AD 939 is the only one of our epigraphic corpus to mention aṅgabhōga and raṅgabhōga, but it does not offer the slightest clue as to the nature of these rituals.*14 From other records we have evidence of the presence of female servants of the deity but their precise role in the temple ritual is not elucidated. The earliest reference to the female servants of the deity (dēvaḍittiyēr) comes from the Kigga inscriptions of the seventh century. The grant of a tax registered in the epigraph was to be enjoyed by the god's servants which included the dēvaḍittiyēr.*15 Similarly the Bagali inscription of the tenth century registers the grant of wet land for the devadittiyer of the Bhujaṅgēśvara temple at Bāḷgaliyūr.*16 Neither of these inscriptions gives any details of the function of the dēvaḍittiyēr.

Lacking specific information in this context, we can only presume that the devadittiyer of southern Karnataka had specific ritual roles to play in the aṅgabhōga and raṅgabhōga of the deity and were additionally sexually exploited by senior members of the temple staff and the principal patrons as were their counterparts in Northern Karnāṭaka.

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*13 Ibid pp. 77 ff.

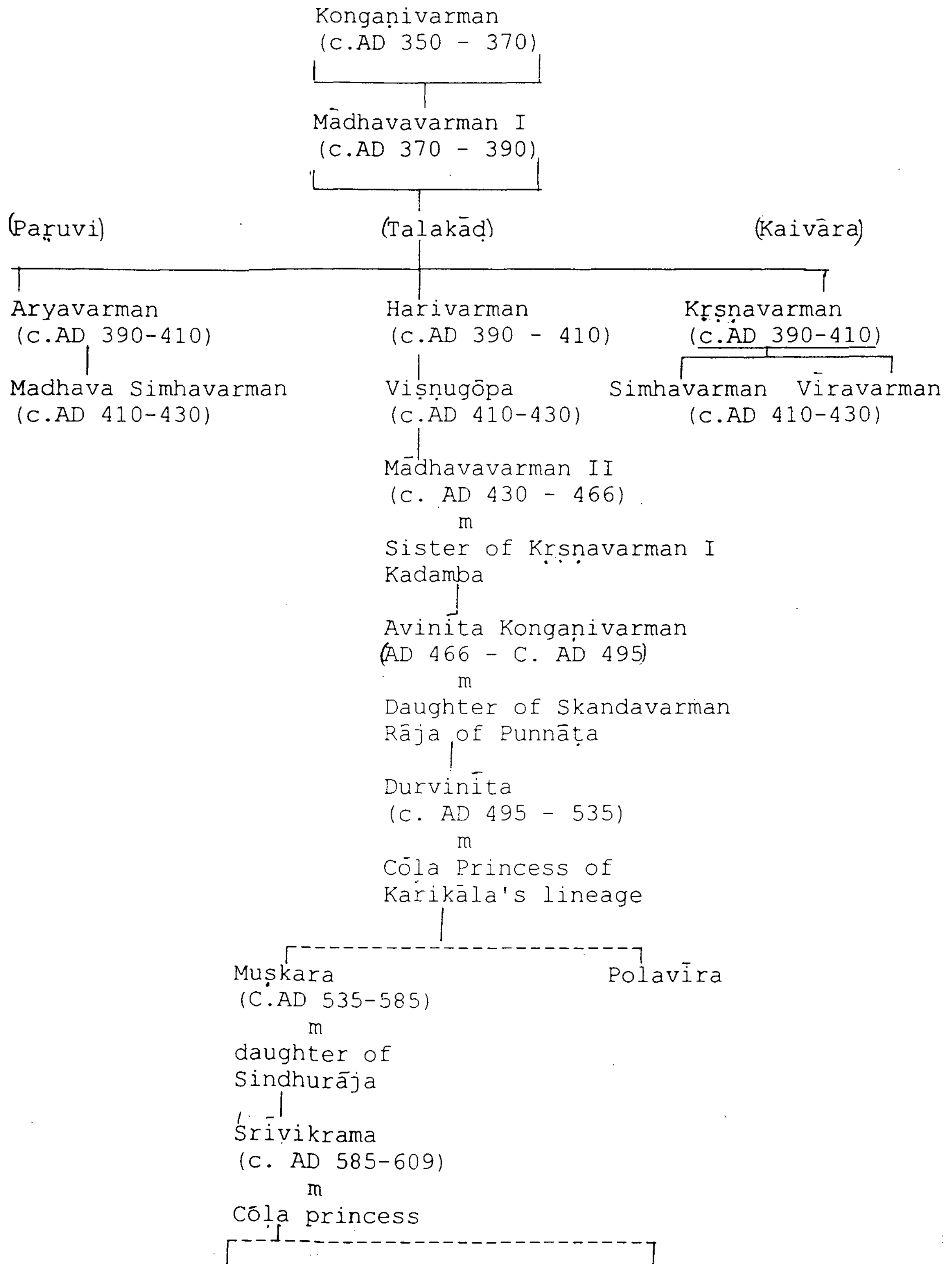
*14 EC VIII (old ed) Sb 476.

*15 EC VI (old ed) Kp 37.

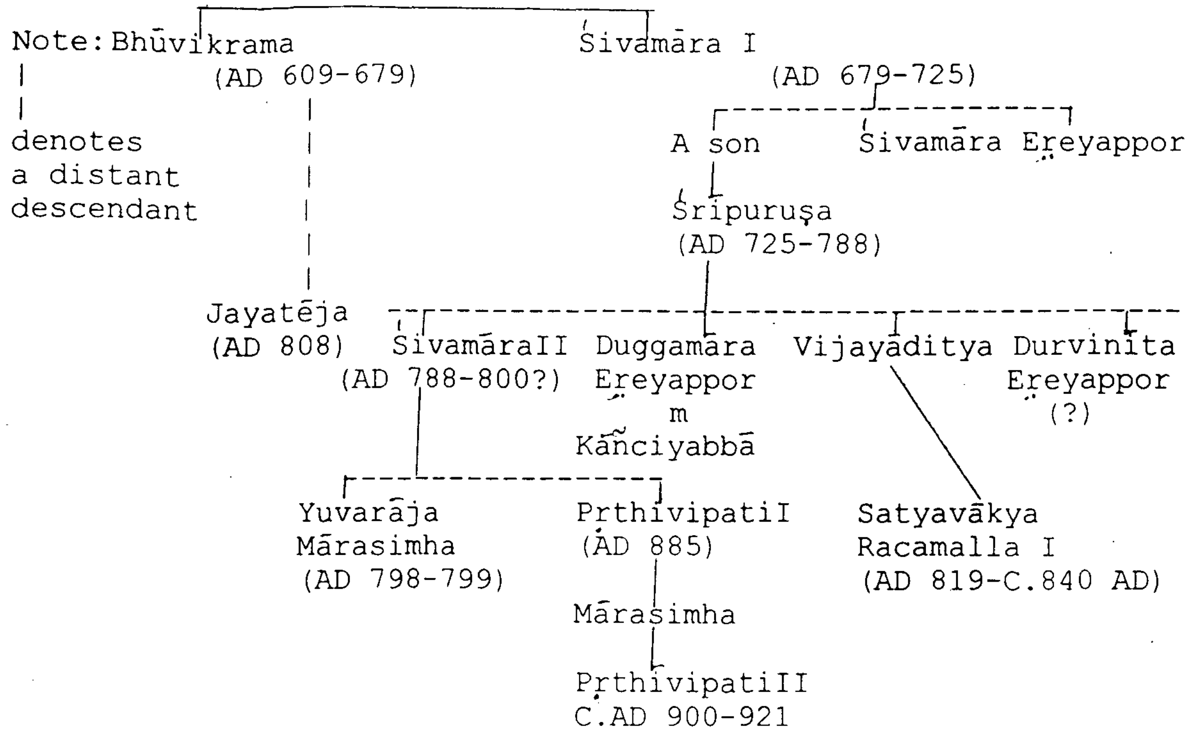
*16 EC IV (new ed) Ch 114.

## APPENDIX V

### A. THE GANGA GENEALOGY




contd.



Note: Bhūvikrama
(AD 609-679)
denotes
a distant
descendant
Śivamāra I
(AD 679-725)
A son
Śivamāra Ereyappor
Śrīpuruṣa
(AD 725-788)
Jayatēja
(AD 808)
ŚivamāraII
(AD 788-800?)
Duggamāra
Ereyappor
m
Kāñciyabbā
Vijayāditya
Durvinīta
Ereyappor
(?)
Yuvarāja
Mārasimha
(AD 798-799)
PṛthivipatiI
(AD 885)
Mārasimha
PṛthivipatiII
C.AD 900-921
Satyavākya
Racamalla I
(AD 819-C.840 AD)

- Satyavākya Rācamalla I
  - Nītimārga Eṛeganga I (C.AD 840 - AD 869)
    - Satyavākya Racamalla II (AD 870 - C. AD 908 ?)
    - Būtuga I m Candrobalabbā daughter of Amōghavarṣa I Rāṣṭrakūṭa
      - Nītimārga Eṛeganga II AD 886 - C.AD 919)
        - Satyavākya Narasimha (C.AD 920-922)
        - Nītimārga Rācamalla III (C.AD.922-937)
        - Satyavākya Būtuga II (AD 937-960) m Rēvakanimmaḍi daughter of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Amoghavarsa III
          - Nītimārga Maruḷa (AD 960-962) m Bījabbe, daughter of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III
            - Raccha Gaṅga
          - Satyavākya Mārasimha II (AD 962 - 974)
            - Rakkasa (AD 977 - 985)
            - Satyavākya Rācamalla IV (AD.977-1024)

B) THE LINEAGE OF PŌḶALCŌRA NŌḶAMBA

Nōḷambādhirāja Pōḷalcōra (C. 840 AD - 870 AD)
m
Jayabbe, daughter of Rācamalla I. Gaṅga.

Mahendrādhirāja Nōḷamba
(C.AD 870 - C. AD 900)
m to Parama Mahādēvi, Bijaya Mahādēvī, etc.

Ayyapadēva Nōḷambādhirāja (C.AD 900-C.920 AD)
m to Nāgiyabbe and Neḷeyabbe.

Aṇṇiga Bīra Nōḷamba
(C. AD 920 - C. AD 935)

Dilīpayya Iṟiva Nōḷambādhirāja
(C. AD 935 - 966)

Nanni Nōḷamba (AD 968 - 970 ?)

Nōḷambādhirāja Cōrayya (AD 974 - 977 ?)

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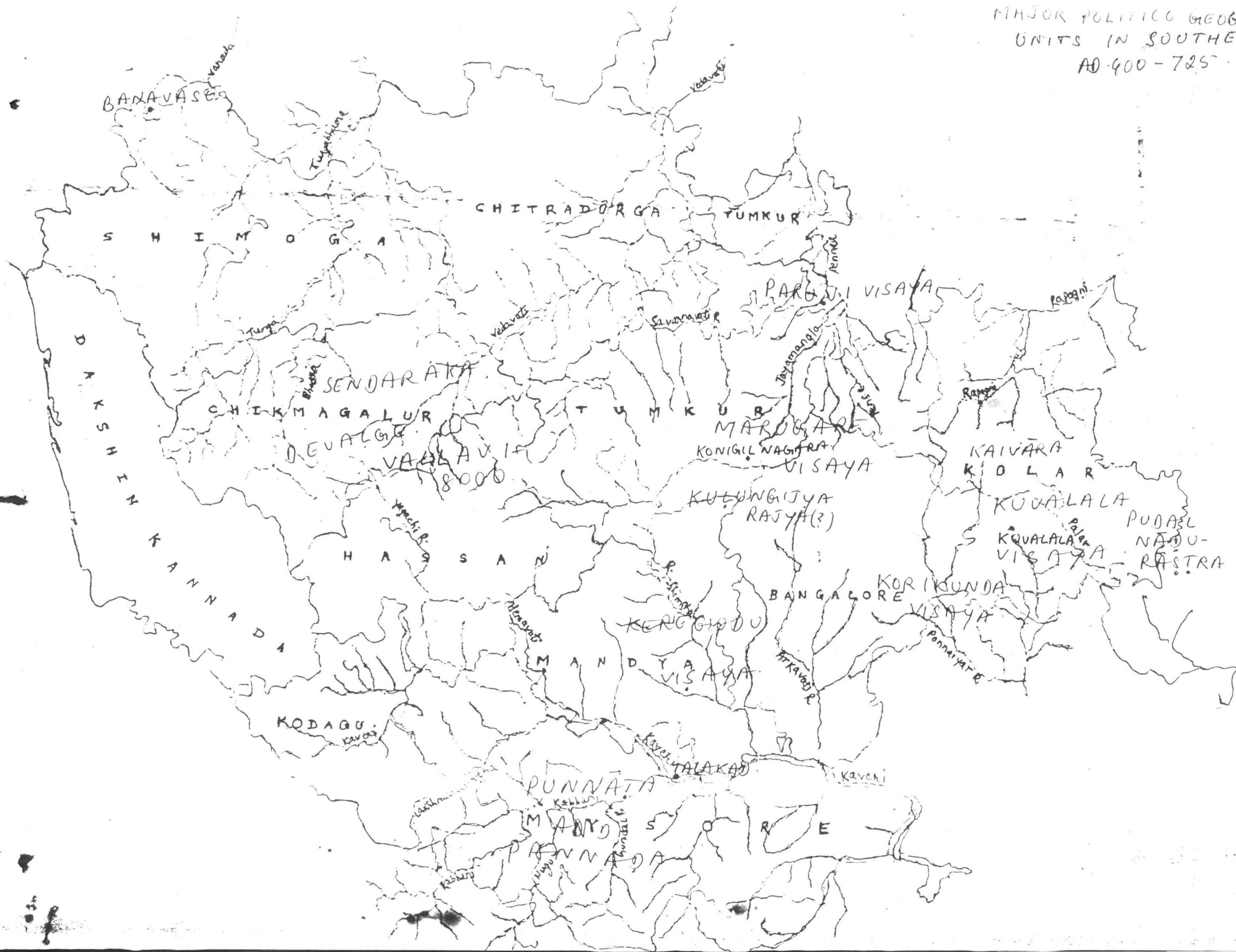
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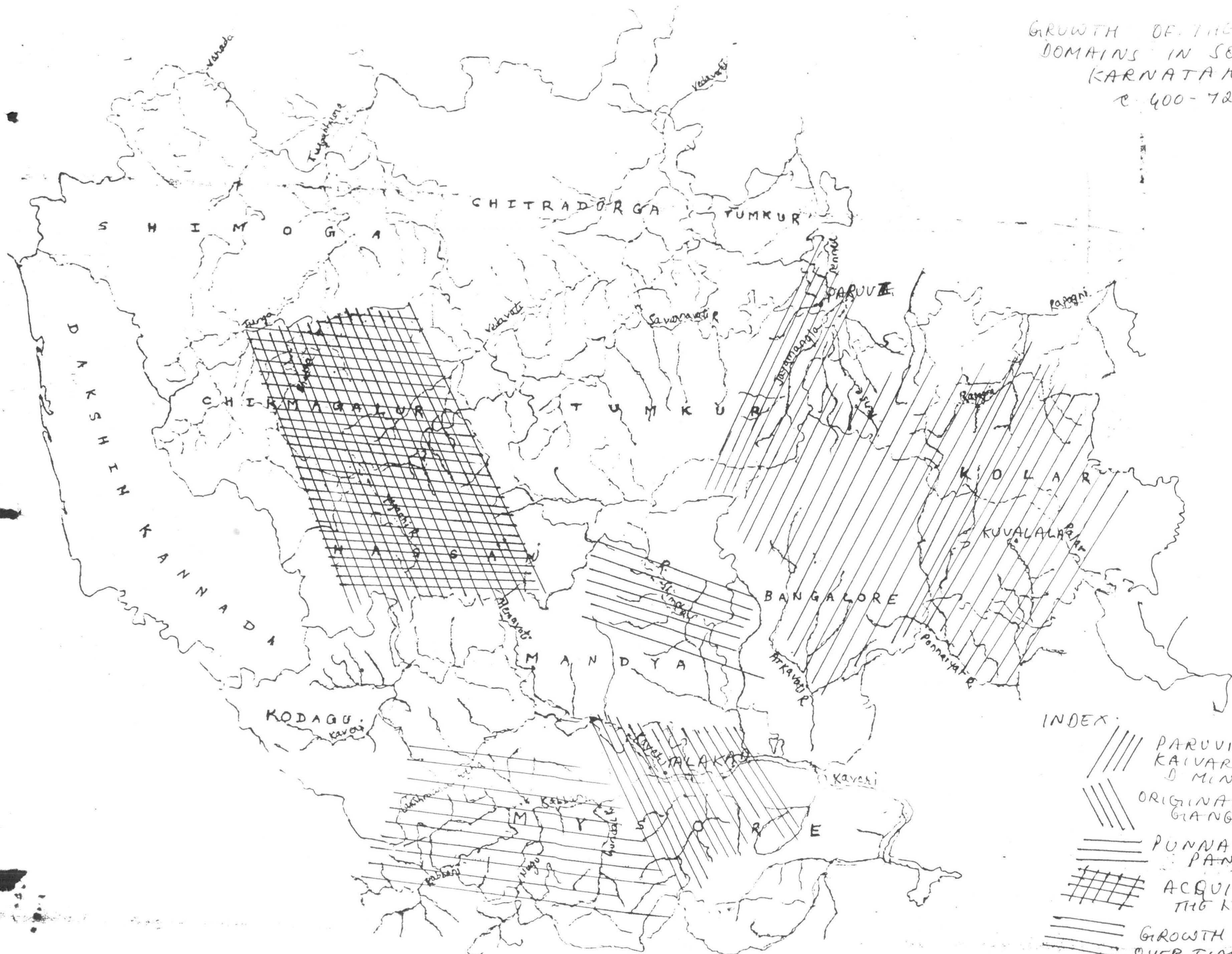
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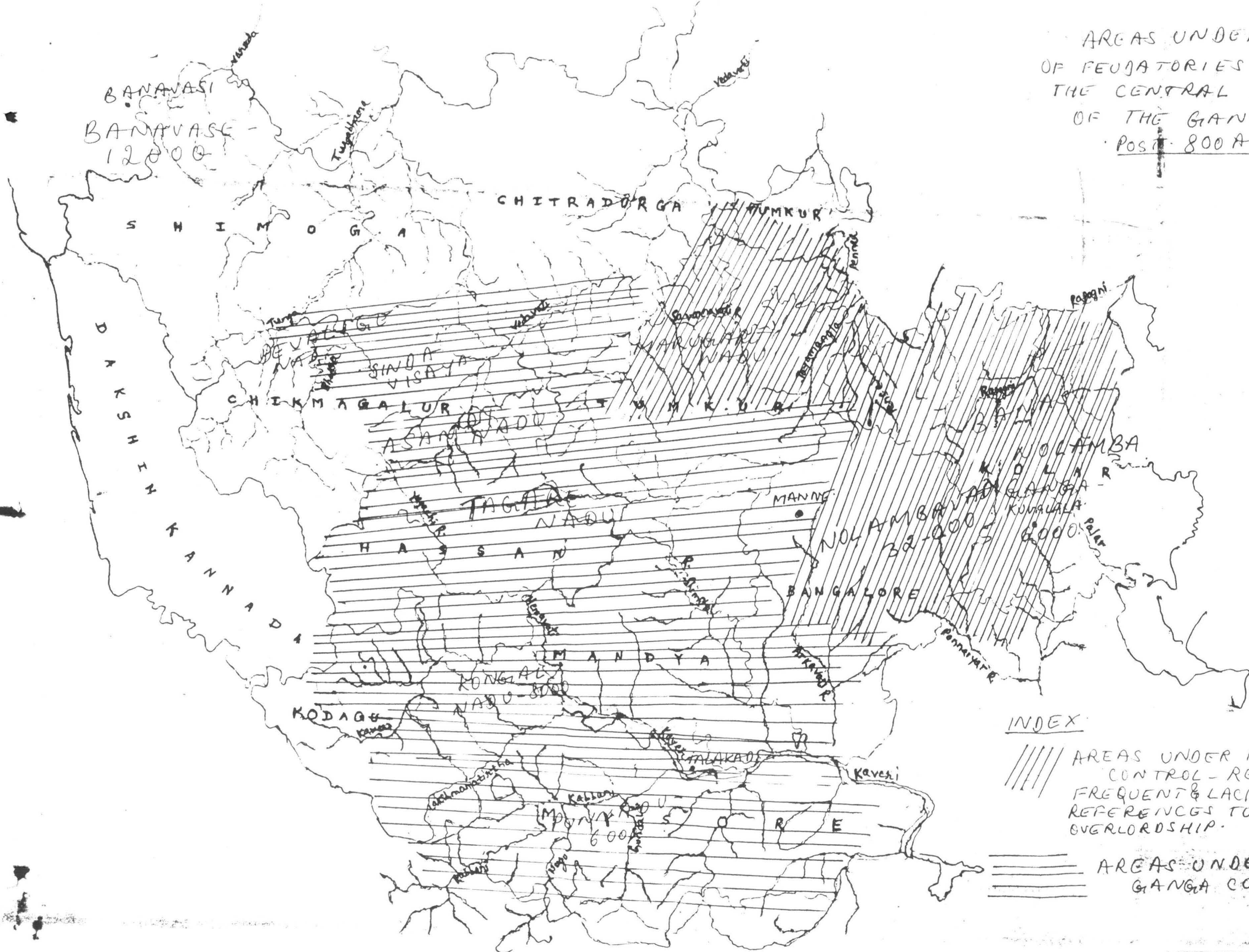
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MAJOR POLITICO GEOGRAPHICAL UNITS IN SOUTHERN KARNATAKA AD 400-725




GROWTH OF THE GANGA DOMAINS IN SOUTHERN KARNATAKA c 400-725 AD.
SHIMOGA
CHITRADURGA
TUMKUR
PARUVI
DAKSHIN KANNADA
CHIKMAGALUR
TUMKUR
KOLAR
KUVALALA
HASSAN
BANGALORE
MANDYA
KODAGU
TALAKAD
MYSORE
Vedavati
Savarnavati R
Tunga
Jayamangala
Papagni
Palar
Hemavati
Arkavati R
Ponnaiyar R
Kaveri
INDEX:
PARUVI-GANGA & KAIVARA GANGA DOMINIONS
ORIGINAL TALAKAD GANGA TERRITORY
PUNNATA AND PANNADA
ACQUIRED FROM THE KADAMBAS
GROWTH OF SETTLEMENT OVER TIME


AREAS UNDER CONTROL OF FEUDATORIES AND THE CENTRAL DOMINIONS OF THE GANGAS POST 800 AD.
BANAVASI
BANAVASE 12000
SHIMOGA
CHITRADURGA
TUMKUR
DAKSHIN KANNADA
CHIKMAGALUR
SINDA VISAYA
TUMKUR
NOLAMBA
KOLAR
GANGA
NOLAMBAVADI 32000
KUVALALA 6000
MANNE
TAGARE NADU
HASSAN
BANGALORE
MANDYA
KONGAL NADU 8000
KODAGU
TALAKADU
MYSORE
INDEX
AREAS UNDER FEUDATORY CONTROL - REBELLIONS FREQUENT & LACK OF REFERENCES TO GANGA OVERLORDSHIP.
AREAS UNDER EFFECTIVE GANGA CONTROL
Kaveri
Palar
Pennaiyar R
Vedavati

Th- 5722

MAP -

10/7/12

## IDENTIFIABLE URBAN CENTRES

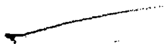
| Name of site | Location code no. |
| --- | --- |
| Asandi | 1 |
| Manne | 2 |
| Kirupelnagara | 3 |
| Avani | 4 |
| Baragur | 5 |
| Nigarilisolapuram | 6 |
| Jananathapuram | 7 |
| Suttur | 8 |

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Th- 5722

MAP -

10|7|12



## SITES OF JAINA AND SAIVA MONASTERIES

| JAINA SITES | LOCATION CODE NO. |
|---|---|
| Manne | 1 |
| Talavanapura | 2 |
| Mugur | 3 |
| Karya | 4 |
| Chikka Hanasoge | 5 |
| Varuna | 6 |
| Bastipura (Nisidhis) | 7 |
| Hangala | 8 |
| Bandalike | 9 |
| Kumasigrama | 10 |
| Maleyur | 11 |
| Kambadahalli | 12 |
| Kyatanahalli (?) | 13 |
| Kellangere | 14 |
| Arakere | 15 |
| Sravanabelagola | 16 |
| Lakshmidevihalli | 17 |
| Ankanathapura (Nisidhis) | 18 |
| Angadi (?) | 19 |
| Asandi | 20 |
| Kadur (Nisidhis) | 21 |

| SAIVA SITES | |
|---|---|
| Nandi | 22 |
| Avani | 23 |
| Hebbata | 24 |
| Baragur | 25 |
| Hemavati | 26 |
| Nagarala | 27 |

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